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"MILLER'S CHURCH HISTORY"

SHORT PAPERS ON
CHURCH HISTORY

FROM

THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY

WRITTEN FROM

A SCRIPTURAL STANDPOINT

BY

ANDREW MILLER

Author of "Meditations on the Song of Solomon," "The Beatitudes," "Christian Standing," etc.

VOLUME II

A.D. 1086 TO A D. 1530

THE CRUSADES TO THE DAYS OF THE REFORMATION

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FROM THE APOSTOLIC AGE TO THE TWENTIETH CENTURY.

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A.D. 32 to A.D. 1085.

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Five Hundred Vital Years

From the Crusades to the Days of the Reformation.

A.D. 1086 to A.D. 1530.

VOLUME III.

The Last Five Centuries

From the Reformation in the Fifteenth to the Twentieth Century.

A.D. 1530 to A.D. 1924.

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Preface

THOSE who have learned from Scripture what the Church of God is, will be the best judges of the following pages. It has been my desire to notice, however briefly, the contrast between the Church of the New Testament and the ecclesiastical systems of history. The Word of God is the standard by which all systems, and all individual professors, must be tested.

The Apostle Paul, fearing the effects of the world on the Corinthians, reminds them of the sacredness of their responsibility to Christ. "For I am jealous over you with a godly jealousy; for I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ. But I fear, lest by any means, as the serpent beguiled Eve through his subtilty, so your minds should be corrupted from the simplicity that is in Christ" (2 Cor. 11. 2, 3). Here we have the teaching of the Holy Spirit as to the Church's relation to Christ, under the figure of an affianced bride. This also points out her *unity*. The bride is, like the body, ONE. "There is one body and one Spirit." Hence the unspeakable importance of the exhortation: "Endeavour to keep the unity of the Spirit in the bond of peace" (Eph. 4. 3, 4).

Surely the idea of separation from the world, through union with a heavenly Christ, is the prominent thought in these affectionate words of solemn warning. "I have espoused you to one husband, that I may present you as a chaste virgin to Christ." Chastity in the spouse of Christ is heavenly-mindedness—to have the affections set on things above, not on things on earth; and faithfulness to Christ is looked for, according to the character of this relationship, from the day of conversion.

This is the high calling of the Christian, of the Church—to walk in fellowship with Him who died for us and rose again; to enjoy His love who has made us one with Himself as the risen Christ; and to be looking and waiting for His Coming, which will consummate and seal all our hopes.

If then the Church be heavenly in her relations, and called to walk as a heavenly stranger on the earth, what shall we think of the worldly pretensions of the Church of Rome as here narrated ? And with what feelings shall we read her history ?

This is now laid before the reader. The second volume embraces the darkest, the proudest, and the most arrogant period of her dominion. It commences with the death of Charlemagne, in 814, and comes down to the Protest of the princes in the year 1529. In accordance with the teaching of the Epistle to Thyatira, we have endeavoured to trace the reign of Jezebel—to lay bare the foundations, to expose the plans, to note the rise and decline of the great worldly system of Papal power.*

From several considerations it is my intention—should the Lord grant years and health—to write a third volume. Protestantism will then be our theme in place of Romanism—Sardis, in place of Thyatira. The effects of the Reformation in the British Isles, and in other nations of Europe, I hope to trace, though briefly, down to our own times.

To God and to His grace I now commend this volume. May He graciously use it for the blessing of many, and for the glory of His own Name. So prays,

Most earnestly,

ANDREW MILLER.

* For a brief survey of Popery, see pp. 515-517.

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Chapter XX

The Crusades

The enemy now changes his tactics. The Pope had gained little or nothing by his long wars with the Empire, and the common sense of mankind had been insulted by his unexampled insolence. Means more plausible, more deceiving, more pious, must be devised. How can the spiritual power gain complete ascendancy over the temporal ? was still the one question to be solved.

The evil genius of Rome presiding in her councils suggests a *holy war* for the purpose of rescuing the sepulchre of Christ from the hands of the unbelieving Turks. Pope Urban immediately embraced the suggestion, and became its champion The whole Vatican agreed. It was perfectly evident, that by these long expeditions to Palestine, the blood of Europe must be drained, its strength exhausted, and its treasure wasted.

THE SACRED PLACES.

From an early period pilgrimages to the Holy Land became a ruling passion with the more devout and superstitious. Jerome speaks of the crowds which from all quarters thronged the sacred places. But the supposed discovery of the real sepulchre, the disinterment of the true Cross, the magnificent Church built over the sepulchre by the devout Helena and her son Constantine, awakened in all classes a wild enthusiasm to visit the Holy Land. From this time (A.D. 326) the stream of pilgrimage continued to flow, and with increasing fulness, down to the period when Jerusalem was captured by the Mohammedans, under the Caliph Omar, in 637. The pilgrims had been protected and cared for by the way ; they had only to encounter the privations and perils of a long journey. But under the Mohammedan government they were prevented from entering the holy city, unless they purchased the privilege by paying tribute to the Caliphs. This being agreed to, the pious soon began to flock in undiminished numbers to perform their devotions at the holy sepulchre.

About the year 1067, a new race of conquerors gained possession of Palestine, who proved to be harder masters than the Saracens. These were the Seljukians, a tribe of **Tartars,** now familiarly known as the Turks. They came originally from Tartary. They had embraced the Mohammedan religion, and were more fanatic Islamites than the Arabian followers of the "prophet." But with the intolerant zeal of recent converts to

Islam, they combined the tyranny and inhumanity of barbarians. Under these new lords of Palestine, the condition of the Christian inhabitants and the pilgrims was greatly altered for the worse. In place of being treated as merely tributary subjects, they were despised as slaves, and the pilgrims exposed to severe persecutions.

PETER THE HERMIT.

The feelings of European Christians were naturally excited by the reports of the cruelties and outrages to which their brethren in the East were subjected by the infidel possessors of the Holy Land ; and this gave an appearance of justice to the idea of a religious war.

In the year 1093, **Peter,** a native of Amiens, as a pilgrim monk, visited Jerusalem. His spirit was greatly stirred by the sight of the indignities which the Christians had to endure. The blood of the martial Frank became as fire when he saw the sufferings and degradations of his brethren. He spoke to Simeon, the patriarch of Jerusalem, on the subject of their deliverance ; but the desponding Simeon deplored the hopelessness of their condition, as the Greeks, the natural protectors of Christians in Syria, were too weak to render them any assistance. Peter then promised him the help of the Latins. "I will raise the martial nations of Europe in your cause," he exclaimed, and he believed his vow was ratified in Heaven. When prostrate in the temple, he heard the voice of the Lord Jesus saying to him, "Rise, Peter, go forth to make known the tribulations of My people ; the hour is come for the delivering of My servants, for the recovery of the holy places." It was a convenient habit in those days, for monks in austere solitude with an excited imagination to believe whatever they wished, and then to have confirmed by dreams and revelations whatever they believed.

Peter now believed in his own mission, and this was a great means of others believing it. He hastened to Rome. The Pope, Urban II, was infected by his fervour, and gave full sanction to his preaching the immediate deliverance of Jerusalem. The hermit, having now the sanction of both Heaven and the Pope, he set forth on his mission. After traversing Italy, he crossed the Alps and entered France. He is described as short of stature, lean, dark complexion, but with an eye of fire. He rode on a mule, with a crucifix in his hand, his head was bare, and his feet naked ; his dress was a long robe girt with a rope, and a hermit's cloak of the coarsest material. He preached to high and low ; in Churches, and on highways, and in the market places. His rude glowing eloquence was that which stirs the heart of the people, for it came from his own. He appealed to every passion ; to indignation and pity, the pride of the warrior, the compassion of the Christian, the love of the brethren, the

hatred of the infidel ; to the foul desecration of the land which had been hallowed by the Redeemer's birth and life. "Why," he vehemently exclaimed, "should the unbelievers be allowed any longer to retain the custody of such Christian territories as the Mount of Olives and the Garden of Gethsemane ? Why should the unbaptised followers of Mohammed, those children of perdition, pollute with hostile feet the sacred ground which had been the witness of so many miracles, and still furnished so many relics which manifested superhuman power ? Bones of martyrs, garments of saints, nails of the Cross, thorns of the crown, were all lying ready to be gathered up by the faithful priesthood who would lead the expedition. Let the floors of Zion be purified with the blood of slaughtered infidels."*

When words and breath failed him he wept, he groaned, he beat his breast, and held up a crucifix, as if Christ Himself were imploring them to join the army of God. The ravings of his frenzy had a prodigious effect on all classes and in all lands. Men, women, children, crowded to touch his garments ; even the hairs which dropped from his mule were gathered up and treasured as relics. In a short time he returned to the Pope, assuring him that everywhere his appeals had been received with enthusiasm, so that he had with difficulty restrained his hearers from at once taking arms and following him to the Holy Land. Nothing was now wanted but a plan, leaders, organisation ; and the Pope boldly resolved to undertake this great work.

POPE URBAN AND THE CRUSADES.

In March, 1095, a council was summoned to meet Urban at Placentia, to consult about the holy war and other important matters. Two hundred bishops, four thousand clergy, and thirty thousand laity appeared ; and, as no building was large enough to contain the vast multitude, the greater sessions were held in a plain near the city. Besides the project of the holy war, the Pope embraced the favourable opportunity to confirm the laws and assert the principles of Gregory. And while at Placentia the final sanction was given to the two strongest characteristics in the doctrine and in the discipline of the Roman Church—namely, transubstantiation and the celibacy of the clergy.†

In November of the same year, another council was summoned to meet the Pope at Clermont, in Auvergne. The citations to this council were urgent, and the clergy were charged to stir up the laity in the cause of the Crusade. A vast assemblage of archbishops, bishops, abbots, etc., were drawn together ; the towns and neighbouring villages were filled with strangers, while numbers were obliged to lodge in tents. The session lasted ten

* White's "Eighteen Christian Centuries," p. 246. † Waddington, vol. ii., p. 102.

days ; the usual canons being passed in condemnation of simony, etc., Urban ventured to advance a step beyond Gregory, by forbidding not only the practice of lay investiture, but that any ecclesiastic should swear fealty to a temporal lord—a prohibition which was intended entirely to do away with all dependence of the Church on the secular power. Thus we see the crafty Pope taking every advantage of his extreme popularity, and when the minds of all were engrossed with the greater subject of the holy Crusade. No moment could be more favourable for the advancement of the great Papal object of ambition, the acknowledged supremacy over Latin Christendom ; or for the elevation of Urban himself over the rival Pope Clement, and the temporal sovereigns who supported him.

At the sixth session the Crusade was proposed. Urban ascended a high pulpit in the market-place, and addressed the assembled multitudes. His speech was long and exciting. He dwelt on the ancient glories of Palestine, where every foot of ground had been hallowed by the presence of the Saviour, of His Virgin Mother, and other saints. He enlarged on the present condition of the sacred territory—possessed as it was by a godless people, the children of the Egyptian handmaid ; on the indignities, the outrages, the tyranny, which they inflicted on Christians redeemed by Christ's blood. Nor did he forget to speak of the progressive encroachments of the Turks on Christendom. "Cast out the bondwoman and her son," he cried. "Let all the faithful arm. Go forth, and God shall be with you. Redeem your sins—your rapine, your burnings, your bloodshed—by obedience. Let the famous nation of the Franks display their valour in a cause where death is the assurance of blessedness. Count it joy to die for Christ where Christ died for you. Think not of kindred or home ; you owe to God a higher love ; for a Christian every place is exile, every place is home and country." There was no passion which the self-seeking Pope left unstirred. But his real design and one grand object was to dispose of unruly barons and obstinate monarchs by engaging them in a distant and ruinous expedition ; and, in their absence, gather up into his own hand all the threads of this great movement, and consolidate the lofty schemes of his predecessor and teacher, Hildebrand.

In conclusion, the blasphemous Pope offered absolution for all sins—the sins of murder, adultery, robbery, arson—and that without penance to all who would take up arms in this sacred cause. He promised eternal life to all who should suffer the glorious calamity of death in the Holy Land, or even on the way to it. The Crusader passed at once into paradise. The great battle of the Cross and the Crescent was to be decided for ever on the soil of the Holy Land. For himself, he said, he must

remain at home : the care of the Church detained him. Should circumstances permit, he would follow ; but, like Moses, while they were slaughtering the Amalekites, he would be perpetually engaged in fervent and prevailing prayer for their success.*

The Pope's speech was here interrupted by an enthusiastic exclamation from the whole assemblage, "God wills it—God wills it!" words which afterwards became the war cry of the Crusaders ; and the whole assembly declared itself the army of God. The contagious frenzy spread with rapidity inconceivable. "Never, perhaps," says one, "did a single speech of man ever work such extraordinary and lasting results as that of Urban II at the Council of Clermont." "It was the first blast of fanaticism, says another, "which shook the whole fabric of society from the extremities of the West even to the heart of Asia, for about two centuries."

Having now stated as clearly and as concisely as possible the ostensible causes of the Crusades, or rather the motives of the Papacy, we need do little more than give the dates and a few particulars of each expedition.

THE FIRST CRUSADE.

A.D. 1096.

1. The Festival of the Assumption, August 15, 1096, was fixed as the day on which the Crusaders should commence their march. Women urged their husbands, their brothers, and their sons to take the Cross ; and those who refused became marks for general contempt. Property of all kinds was sold to raise money ; but as all wanted to sell and none to buy, it naturally fell to an exceedingly low price, and was bought up chiefly by the clergy ; so that nearly the whole property of the country passed into their hands. Godfrey pledged his castle of Bouillon, in the Ardennes, to the Bishop of Liege. The artisan sold his tools, the husbandman his implements, to raise the means of equipment. The fabulous splendour and wealth of the East were set before the imagination already stimulated by the romantic legends of Charlemagne and his peers. Besides the religious enthusiasm which now animated all ranks, a variety of other motives were at work. For the peasant there was an opportunity to quit his depressed life, to bear arms, and forsake the service of his feudal lord. For the robber, the pirate, the outlaw, there was pardon and restoration to society ; for the debtor there was escape from his obligations ; and for all who took up the Cross there was the assurance that death in the holy war would make them partakers in the glory and bliss of the martyrs. And so great was the excitement produced by this Papal epidemic, that long before the time appointed for the commencement of the expedition, the impatience of the multitude was unable to restrain itself.

* Robertson, vol. ii., p. 630 ; Milman, vol. iii., p. 233 ; Waddington, vol. ii., p. 77.

Early in the spring of 1096, Peter, the first missionary of the Crusade, set out on his march for the East at the head of a wild and motley host. About sixty thousand of the populace from the confines of France and Lorraine flocked around the hermit, and pressed him to lead them to the holy sepulchre. He now assumed the character, without the abilities, of a general, and marched along the Rhine and Danube. Walter the Penniless, a poor but valiant soldier, followed with about fifteen thousand. A monk named Gottschalk pursued closely after Peter and Walter, with about twenty thousand from the villages of Germany. A fourth swarm of about two hundred thousand of the refuse of the people, conducted by a Count Emecho, pressed upon their rear. These successive crowds now numbered fully three hundred thousand warriors of the Cross, so-called. But it was soon manifest that another spirit animated them. Not one of them knew the Cross, save as an outward idolatrous emblem. Old and infirm, women and children, and the lowest dregs of the idle populace, followed the camp of the Crusaders !

Nothing could be more melancholy and disastrous than the conduct and fate of these deluded swarms. Their wants and numbers soon compelled them to separate. They were without order or discipline, and most of them unprovided with either armour or money. They had no idea of the distance of Jerusalem, or of the difficulties to be encountered by the way. So ignorant were they, that, at the sight of the first city beyond the limits of their knowledge, they were ready to inquire if this was Jerusalem. In place of sobriety and order in their march, it was marked by murder, plunder, dissoluteness, and infamous habits of every kind. The unoffending Jewish inhabitants of the towns on the Moselle, the Rhine, the Maine, and the Danube, through which they marched, were plundered and slaughtered as the murderers of Christ and the enemies of the Cross. The population of Hungary and Bulgaria rose up against them because of their disorderly and plundering habits, and immense numbers of them were slain.

After repeated disasters and foolish adventures, they reached Constantinople ; but Alexius, the Greek Emperor, more alarmed than gratified with his allies, had them speedily, if not treacherously, conveyed across the Bosphorus. A great battle was fought soon after, under the walls of Nicæa—the Turkish capital. The army of the Hermit was cut to pieces by Solyman, the Turkish Sultan of Iconium. Walter the Penniless was slain, with most of his followers ; their bones were gathered into a vast heap to warn their companions of the hopelessness of their enterprise. It is reckoned that in these ill-conducted expeditions three hundred thousand had already perished ; some extend the number to half a million. Of those who had started

under the guidance of Peter and his lieutenants, not more than 20,000 survived ; and these endeavoured to find their way back to their homes, but only to tell the sad fate of their companions who had died by the arrows of the Turks and Hungarians, or by want and fatigue. Hardly one of Peter's army ever reached the borders of the Holy Land. Pope Urban lived to hear of the distresses and miseries of his own evil work, but died before the capture of Jerusalem.

THE SECOND DIVISION OF THE FIRST CRUSADE.

In the meantime, while the poor, naked, deluded, plebian multitude had been cut down, the aristocracy of the West had assumed the Cross, encouraged each other, and were preparing to depart on the same holy mission. Of the chiefs it will be necessary to say a little, that we may have some idea how thoroughly the epidemic had affected all classes.

The most eminent was Godfrey of Bouillon, a descendant of Charles the Great. The first rank is assigned to him both in war and in counsel. He had accompanied William of Normandy, in his invasion of England ; again, in the service of Henry the Fourth, he has the reputation of giving Rudolph his death-wound, which ended the civil war ; and he was the first of Henry's army to mount the walls of Rome. He is represented by the chroniclers as remarkable for the depth of his piety and the mildness of his character in ordinary life ; but wise in counsel, and bold as a lion in the battlefield. He was accompanied by his two brothers, Eustace and Baldwin ; Hugh, brother of the King of France ; the Counts Raymond of Toulouse, Robert of Flanders, and Stephen of Blois ; and Robert, Duke of Normandy, son of William the Conqueror. But so great and so general was the excitement, that nearly all the gallant chiefs of Europe were inspired with knightly courage and national rivalries, to distinguish themselves in this holy war.

Six hundred thousand men are supposed to have left their homes at this time, with innumerable attendants, women and servants, and workmen of all kinds. The difficulty of procuring subsistence for so many led them to separate their forces and proceed to Constantinople by different routes. It was agreed that they should all meet there, and from thence begin their operations against the Turks. After a long and painful march, in which thousands perished, the survivors reached the Eastern capital. Alexius, though he would have been thankful for a moderate force from the West to assist him against the Turks, who were dangerously near him, was astonished and alarmed at the approach of so many powerful chiefs and large armies. The peace of his borders had been disturbed by the thefts and unruliness of the promiscuous multitudes under Peter the Hermit ; but

he dreaded more serious consequences from the arrival of such formidable troops under Godfrey. Learning from one company that another would soon follow, he had them artfully decoyed across the Bosphorus, so that they might not be united in the neighbourhood of his capital. By this means, though not without threatened hostilities, the Crusaders had all passed into Asia before the feast of Pentecost.

THE SIEGE OF NICÆA.

The zeal and the indignation of the pilgrims were greatly excited when they saw the pyramid of bones which marked the place where Walter and his companions had fallen. Nicæa was besieged, and yielded in about five weeks ; but they were greatly disappointed of their expected plunder. When the Turks found that their position was no longer tenable, they secretly agreed to surrender the city to Alexius. The imperial banner was planted on the citadel, and the important conquest was guarded with jealous vigilance by the perfidious Greeks. The murmurs of the chiefs were unavailing, and after a few days' rest they directed their march towards Phrygia.

The great battle of **Dorylium** was fought about a fortnight after the siege of Nice. Solyman rallied his Turkish hordes and pursued after what he called the western barbarians. He surprised and attacked them before they reached Dorylium. His cavalry is stated by the Christians to have numbered three hundred thousand. So fearful was the onset and so thick the poisoned arrows, that the Crusaders were overwhelmed. They were thrown into such confusion that but for the personal valour and military conduct of Bohemond, Tancred, Robert of Normandy, and the timely help of Godfrey and Raymond, the whole army might have perished. At length the long contest was decided in favour of the Crusaders, and the camp of Solyman fell into their hands. Superstition affirmed that the victory was gained by heavenly champions, who descended to aid the Christians.

In a march of five hundred miles through Asia Minor, the army suffered severely. Hunger, thirst, the extremity of heat, the scarcity of food, the difficulty of the march, greatly thinned their ranks. Thirst was fatal to hundreds in a single day. Nearly all the horses died. And, to add to their confusion and dismay, disunion appeared among the leaders, even to open feud. But in spite of every difficulty, the great mass of the Crusaders who survived these calamities, held on their way to Jerusalem. Baldwin, the brother of Godfrey, succeeded in getting possession of the town of Edessa, and founded the first principality of the Latins beyond the Euphrates.

THE SIEGE OF ANTIOCH.

On the 18th of October, 1097, the "warriors of the Cross" laid siege to Antioch, where the disciples were first called Christians, and which soon afterwards became the centre of the great apostle's missionary labours. But how changed the spirit, object, and ways, of his so-called successor—of him who assumed the blasphemous title of the Vicar of Christ; but at whose door the guilt and bloodshed of this, the greatest of all popular delusions, for ever rests. Jezebel may still reign both in Church and State, and friends as well as foes must be sacrificed to gain her ends and gratify her ambition. But the day is fast hastening on when requisition shall be made for blood, and judgment adjusted according to the motives as well as the actions in guilt. The testimony, thanks be to God, that went out from Antioch in the first century is as plain and true now as it was then, and of equal authority over the heart and conscience, notwithstanding the ten thousand corrupt streams which professedly flow from the same fountain. It is with the apostle's doctrine, not the tradition of the Fathers that we have to do. In all ages the Christian's creed should be, the person of Christ for the heart, the work of Christ for the conscience, and the Word of God for the path.

The **Siege of Antioch** lasted eight months. The miseries endured during that period were frightful. For a time the luxuries of the soil and climate were enjoyed, even to excess, but the winter set in and their enjoyment was at an end. The heavy rains flooded their camp, and the winds demolished their tents. Famine and pestilence with their many consequences prevailed. The flesh of horses, dogs, and even of their slaughtered enemies were greedily devoured. At the beginning of the siege, their horses numbered seventy thousand, at the end they only numbered two thousand, and scarcely two hundred fit for service. At length, however, help came, or they must have perished to the last man. Through the treachery of a Syrian officer in the city, who had the favour of the Emir, and who commanded three towers, a gate was opened. The army rushed into the devoted city, shouting the Crusaders' war-cry, "God wills it!" and Antioch was once more in the hands of the Christians. But the victory was not complete. The citadel refused to surrender, and soon after this apparent victory, an overwhelming force of Turks appeared, under Kerboga, Prince of Mosul. For five-and-twenty days the Crusaders were again on the verge of complete destruction between Kerboga and the garrison of the fortress.

When the hearts of all began to sink, and a general indifference to life prevailed, a cunning monk of the name of **Bartholomew,** presented himself at the door of the council chamber, and declared it had been revealed to him from Heaven in a dream,

that under the great altar of the Church of St. Peter would be found the spear which pierced the Saviour on the Cross. The ground was opened, but after digging to the depth of twelve feet, they had not found the object of their search. In the evening, bare-footed and in the penitent's dress, Bartholomew himself descended into the pit ; he soon came upon the head of a lance. The ring of steel was heard, it was the sacred weapon. At the first gleam of the holy spear the desponding Crusaders passed from despair to enthusiasm. A martial psalm was chanted by the priests and monks. "Let God arise, and let His enemies be scattered." The gates of Antioch were thrown open, and the now fanatical warriors rushed forth, the holy spear being carried by the legate's chaplain. The charge was irresistible ; the Saracens fled before the unexpected attack, leaving behind them an immense mass of spoil. Bohemond was proclaimed Prince of Antioch, under condition that he would accompany them to Jerusalem.

THE SIEGE OF JERUSALEM.

A.D. 1099.

In place of marching at once to Jerusalem, when so cheered and strengthened by victory, and their enemies over-awed, they idly spent their time, enjoying the luxuries of Syria, for nearly ten months, and, when marching orders were given the following May, only a very small part of the once mighty host remained. Three hundred thousand, it is supposed, reached Antioch ; but famine, disease, and the sword had reduced their force to little more than forty thousand. The relics of the army moved off in the month of May. As they drew nearer the object of their long and perilous journey, and recognised the sacred places, such as Tyre, Sidon, Cæsarea, Lydda, Emmaus, and Bethlehem, their enthusiasm knew no bounds. But when an elevation was reached which gave them a full view of the Holy City, a cry of, "Jerusalem ! Jerusalem ! God wills it ! God wills it ! " burst forth. All threw themselves on their knees, and kissed the sacred ground. The scenes of Gospel history filled their minds with enraptured delight. But Jerusalem was yet in the hands of the infidels, and they were unprovided with the necessary engines of assault.

The siege lasted forty days, but they were forty days of great suffering to the besiegers ; especially from the fierce thirst produced by the midsummer sun of that parched country. The brook Kedron was dried up ; the cisterns had been destroyed or poisoned ; their provisions were exhausted ; indeed, so great was their distress, they were on the point of yielding to despair. But, as on former occasions, relief was at hand. Superstition came to the rescue. Godfrey saw on the Mount of Olives a heavenly warrior waving his bright shield as a signal for another

assault. With renewed military ardour they attacked the unbelievers, and, after a fierce struggle, they became masters of the Holy City. Historians agree in saying, that on the 15th of July, A.D. 1099, being a Friday, at three o'clock in the afternoon, the day and hour of the Saviour's passion, Godfrey of Bouillon stood victorious on the walls of Jerusalem. He leaped into the devoted city, accompanied by Tancred, and followed by the soldiers, who filled every street with slaughter.

"The Crusaders," says Robertson, "inflamed to madness by the thought of the wrongs inflicted on their brethren and by the obstinate resistance of the besiegers, spared neither old man, woman, or child. *Seventy thousand Mohammedans were massacred*; many who had received a promise of life from the leaders were slaughtered by the soldiery. The Temple and Solomon's Porch were filled with blood to the height of a horse's knee; and in the general rage against the enemies of Christ, the Jews were burnt in their synagogue. Godfrey took no part in these atrocities, but immediately after the victory repaired, in the dress of a pilgrim, to the Church of the Holy Sepulchre, to pour out his thanks for having been permitted to reach the Holy City. Many followed his example, relinquishing their savage work for tears of penitence and joy, and offering at the altar the spoil which they had seized; but, by a revulsion of feelings natural to a state of high excitement, they soon returned to their savage work, and for three days Jerusalem ran with blood."*

JERUSALEM IN THE HANDS OF THE CHRISTIANS.

Jerusalem, which had been under the Mohammedan yoke since the conquest of Omar, in 637, was again in the hands of the Christians; and eight days after this memorable event the victorious chiefs proceeded to the election of a king. By the free and unanimous voice of the army, Godfrey of Bouillon was proclaimed the most worthy champion of Christendom and King of Jerusalem. But the humble and pious pilgrim, while he accepted the place of responsibility, refused the name and ensigns of royalty. How could he be called king and wear a crown of gold, when the King of kings, his Saviour and Lord, had worn a crown of thorns? He contented himself with the humbler title of Defender and Baron of the Holy Sepulchre.

Scarcely had Godfrey been seated on his throne, when he was again summoned to the field. A large force of Saracens from Egypt were hastening to avenge the loss of Jerusalem. But again the Crusaders were victorious in what is called **the Battle of Askelon.** Their position in the Holy Land being now considered secure, most of the army prepared to return to Europe. After ascending the hill of Calvary, amidst the loud anthems

* Robertson's "Church History," vol. ii., p. 641; White's "Eighteen Christian Centuries."

of the clergy, bedewing with their tears the holy ground, bathing in the Jordan, carrying with them palm-branches from Jericho, and relics innumerable, they bent their way homewards. Among those who returned was Peter the Hermit, who spent the remainder of his days in a monastery of his own founding, at Huy, near Liege, until his death in 1115.

Three hundred knights and two thousand foot-soldiers were all that Godfrey retained for the defence of Palestine. But the infant kingdom was soon to be assailed by a new enemy, and one with whom we are too well acquainted—*a voracious priest of Rome.* In the name of the Pope, he was installed Patriarch of Jerusalem, and claimed such revenues and property for the Church that the State was left poor indeed. The pious Godfrey submitted; both he and Bohemond received investiture from the priest, and thus the sceptre of Jerusalem fell into his hands, or rather was seized by the ambitious Pope. Wearied with all his labours, and feeling that his great work was now done, Godfrey was little disposed to fight against the priest, and so allowed him to usurp the place of jurisdiction, both in spiritual and temporal matters. The Greek Christians were persecuted by the Latins as schismatics; and, of course, the breach was widened between the East and the West.

After establishing the French language, and laying the foundation of a code of laws, afterwards famous under the name of the "Assizes of Jerusalem," and holding his dignity for little more than a year, the brave and victorious Godfrey—the true hero of the Crusade—died August 17, A.D. 1100.

THE SECOND CRUSADE.
A.D. 1147.

Having thus given a somewhat minute and detailed account of the First Crusade, we need do little more than give the dates, with a few particulars, of the following seven. The same unreasonable and unscriptural, but exciting causes, and the same disastrous results, are apparent in each of the expeditions. They have been styled as so many faint and unsuccessful copies of the original.

The immediate descendants of the first Crusaders are described as giving way to a life of Syrian ease and luxury, and so becoming utterly depraved and effeminate. But, on the other hand, the Mohammedans, having recovered from their sudden terror and consternation, collected large forces, and harassed the Christians with perpetual wars. In 1144, **Zenghis,** Prince of Mosul, made himself master of Edessa. The inhabitants were slaughtered, the city plundered, and utterly destroyed. The exultation of the Mohammedans was boundless; they threatened Antioch, and the courage of the Christians began to sink. With tears they

now implored the help of the Christian kings and the armies of Europe. The enemies of the Cross are advancing, they cried; thousands of Christians have been massacred, and not one will be left alive in the Holy Land unless help come speedily.

The Roman Pontiff, **Eugene III,** favoured these petitions, and resolved to stir up a new Crusade. The kings, princes, and people of Europe were summoned by the Pope's letters to the holy war; but the *preaching* of the Crusade over these countries he wisely delegated to the celebrated **St. Bernard, Abbot of Clairvaux.** He was a man of immense influence, of saintly character, and of great reputation for working miracles. In the most glowing eloquence he pictured the sufferings of the Eastern Christians, the profanation of the holy places by the infidels, and the certain success of the armies of the Lord. Louis VII of France, his queen, and a vast number of his nobles, took the vow, and devoted themselves to the holy war. Conrad III, Emperor of Germany, after resisting for a time the appeals of St. Bernard, at length declared himself ready to obey the call to God's service. Many of the chiefs of Germany followed the Emperor's example in taking up the Cross—as the phrase then was—but it was a Cross without either truth or grace, the fearful delusion of Satan, and the wicked prostitution of that sacred symbol to the blinding and ruin of millions.

No sooner had these monarchs taken the vow than preparations for the expedition were urged on. Troops and supplies of every kind were collected; and in 1147 their mighty armies, composed chiefly of French, Germans, and Italians, and numbering over nine hundred thousand, moved forward in two columns towards Palestine. Proceeding, as they thought, and as Bernard had assured them, under the sanction of Heaven, they expected the final blow would now be given to the power of the Mohammedans, that the kingdom of Jerusalem would be firmly established, and that peace would be secured to the Latin Christians. In some respects the Second Crusade differed from the first. *That* was the result of popular enthusiasm; *this* was a great European movement, headed by two sovereigns, followed by their nobles, and supported by the wealth and influence of nations; but they were equally unsuccessful with the army of Peter the Hermit. They were cruelly betrayed by the treacherous Greeks, who were more afraid of the Crusaders than they were of the Mohammedans. The approach of a hundred and forty thousand heavy-armed knights, with their immediate attendants, in the field, besides the light-armed troops, infantry, priests and monks, women and children—in all numbering nearly a million—so alarmed the effeminate Greeks, that the Emperor sent envoys, requiring them to swear that they had no designs against the Empire. But their terror took the form of hostility, and as the

Crusaders entered the imperial territory, difficulties thickened on every side.

The history of the Second Crusade in the Holy Land is more pitiful, shameful, and disastrous than the first. In 1149, Conrad and Louis led back to Europe the few soldiers that survived. What had become of all the rest? Their bones were whitening all the roads and deserts over which they had passed. *A million had perished in less than two years.* Loud murmurs were heard against Bernard, as the priest by whose preaching, prophecies, and miracles it had been chiefly promoted. But the crafty abbot convinced the people that he had been quite right in all he said, and that the failure of the expedition was a fit chastisement for the sins of the Crusaders. Thus we see that the only effect of the Second Crusade was to drain Europe of a great portion of its wealth, and of the flower of its armies, without bettering the condition of Christians in the East.

THE THIRD CRUSADE.

A.D. 1189.

In the year 1187 the far-famed **Saladin,** Sultan of Egypt, invaded the Holy Land at the head of a large army. His avowed object was to retake Jerusalem from the Christians. Having gained a great victory at Tiberias, he pushed forward his army to the walls of the Holy City, besieged it, and took its monarch prisoner. It was surrendered to Saladin on the 3rd of October. The Cross was thrown down, relics were dispersed, the sacred places profaned, and the Mohammedan worship restored. Yet the conduct of Saladin, though a conqueror and a Mohammedan, was wholly free from that revengeful spirit which stained the character of the Franks under Godfrey. He spared the Holy Sepulchre, and allowed Christians to visit it for a certain payment. His generosity to the captives is celebrated by all writers. Thousands were set free without a ransom, and numbers received a passage to Europe at his own expense. Christians were allowed to remain in their homes on condition of paying tribute.

The news of these fresh calamities, and especially of the conquest of Jerusalem, excited the greatest indignation and alarm throughout all Christendom. Again the cry for help was heard from the Christians in the East to their brethren in the West. But at first they were dull of hearing. Only forty years had elapsed since the last expedition, and Europe had scarcely forgotten her misfortunes, or recovered from her exhaustion. But the cause was vigorously taken up by the Pope, Clement III. The cardinals bound themselves never to mount on horseback "so long as the land whereon the foot of the Lord had stood should be under the feet of the enemy," and to preach the Crusade as mendicants. The interest increased, though men at

first hesitated to commit themselves to the enterprise. But the priest persevered, and the three greatest princes in Europe were influenced to receive the Cross from the hands of the bishop; their subjects were taxed, under the name of "Saladin's Tithe," to defray the expenses of the war.

In the spring of 1189 the Third Crusade was commenced by **Frederick I** of Germany, surnamed Barbarossa; **Philip Augustus** of France; and **Richard I** of England, surnamed Cœur de Lion, or the lion-hearted prince. Barbarossa, now sixty-seven years of age, with his large army, traversed the provinces of Hungary, Bulgaria, and Greece, as the former pilgrims had done, and were again molested by the first two, and betrayed by the last. Eighty-three thousand Germans crossed the Hellespont, and for a few days their march through Asia Minor was prosperous; but the guides and interpreters who were furnished by the Greeks had been bribed to deceive them, and after luring them into the desert they disappeared. No markets could be found, horses died for want of food, and their flesh was greedily devoured by the soldiers. Still he was able to maintain discipline; and, though with greatly reduced numbers, he boldly attacked and defeated the Turks with great slaughter, while his son assaulted the city of Iconium and compelled the Sultan to surrender it. The army, refreshed with the provisions of Iconium, pressed onwards in the hope of speedily reaching the object of their expedition; but their great leader died the following year near Tarsus, and Frederick the younger dying soon after, many of the survivors abandoned the Crusade and returned to Europe. Sixty-eight thousand of the German army had perished in less than two years.

The English and the French armies reached Palestine by sea in the year 1190, and fought under the same banner. But after the reduction of Acre, Philip returned to Europe, leaving Richard to carry on the war. The valour of the "lion-hearted" king has been so fully celebrated, both in English and Mohammedan history, that we need only add, he defeated Saladin at Askelon and, having concluded a peace securing certain privileges to the pilgrims in Jerusalem and along the sea-coast, he returned to England in 1194, though not without great difficulty and expense. Saladin died in 1195, while Richard was on his way home. It is reckoned that, in the expedition thus ended, more than half a million of professedly Christian warriors perished. In the siege of Acre alone, one hundred and twenty thousand Christians, and one hundred and eighty thousand Mohammedans perished. Such were the alleged holy wars of the Satan-inspired councils of Rome.

THE REMAINDER OF THE CRUSADES.
A.D. 1195-1270.

The **Fourth Crusade,** which was commenced in 1195, by the

Emperor Henry VI, was more political than religious. It had in view, not so much the deliverance of the Holy Land, as the destruction of the Greek Empire. But after some successful engagements Henry died, and the Germans resolved to return home. Pope Celestine III, who had urged on the expedition, survived the Emperor only a few months. He died A.D. 1198.

To describe the **Fifth and Sixth Crusades** would involve much repetition, but the seventh and eighth deserve a few words.

Louis XI, King of France, who is commonly known by the name of St. Louis, believed that he was raised up from a serious illness by Heaven to undertake the recovery of the Holy Land. Nothing could dissuade him from performing his vow. After four years' preparation he sailed to Cyprus, in 1249, accompanied by his Queen, his three brothers, and all the knights of France. After a few trifling successes and the taking of Damietta, he was defeated and taken prisoner along with two of his brothers. The Earl of Salisbury, who had accompanied him, with almost all his English followers, perished. Pestilence and famine began to do their dreadful work among the Franks ; the distress increased ; the fleet was destroyed ; and the Saracens, in vast numbers, were hovering around them. The liberty of the king was at length purchased by a large ransom, and a truce was concluded for ten years. After quietly visiting some of the sacred places, he returned to France. But amidst all the labours of government at home the pious Louis never forgot his crusading vow. He was haunted with the idea that he had been entrusted by Heaven with this great mission.

At length, on the 14th of March, A.D. 1270, he entered upon his *second*, and the **Eighth Crusade**. He was so weak that he could neither bear his armour nor remain long on horseback. But scarcely had he landed his army on the shores of Africa, than all his sanguine visions perished. The Sultan's troops, the climate, the want of water and of food, began to produce their sad effects. His army was almost wholly destroyed, and Louis himself, with his son, John Tristan, sank and died in the month of August. The survivors returned to Europe ; and thus terminated these holy wars, leaving the avowed object of the Crusades as far distant as before the days of Peter the Hermit.

THE CHILDREN'S CRUSADE.
A.D. 1213.

Between the Fifth and Sixth Crusades, about the year 1213, the excitement and madness of the time produced one of mere children. A shepherd boy named Stephen, near Vendome, in France, professed to have been charged by the Saviour in a vision to preach the Cross. He soon gathered other children around him by his wondrous revelations, and they commenced

their journey, expecting to conquer the infidels by singing hymns and saying prayers. They passed through towns and villages, displaying banners and crosses, and chanting, "O Lord, help us to recover Thy true and holy Cross." A similar movement originated in Germany about the same time. We are told that the numbers swelled as they went along, until about ninety thousand boys, about ten or twelve years of age, were ready to march to the Holy Land. But the whole band in a short time melted away. Many of the unfortunate children died through hunger and fatigue ; others were betrayed by ship-masters, who promised to convey them to the shores of Palestine, but who are supposed to have sold them into slavery. Such was the insanity of those times, that, in place of preventing such a movement, the Pope declared that the zeal manifested by the children put to shame the listlessness of their elders.*

REFLECTIONS ON THE CRUSADES.

Many and varied are the opinions of historians as to the origin, character, and effects of the Crusades. That they had an immense influence on the course of human affairs, especially in Europe and Asia, all are agreed. They were the means, under the overruling providence of God, of changing the whole structure of society in this and other countries. From the serf to the sovereign all experienced a great change. The social condition of the serf and the vassal was raised, the number and power of the feudal lords were diminished, and the strength of the sovereign increased. By the same means commerce was greatly improved, and the barons not a little impoverished. Many of them mortgaged their estates to wealthy citizens, which in course of time led to the establishment of the third estate in the realm—the Commons. The liberties of Europe, both civil and religious, had their rise in this class.

But the Papacy was the chief gainer by the Crusades. A vast accession of power, influence, and wealth, to the Pope, the clergy, and the monastic institutions was the immediate result. And this was the one grand object of the Papal policy. What Hildebrand fought for and saw in the distance, Urban seized and used with great craft and power. And this supremacy he obtained by means *apparently* good and holy, but *really* most subtle and Satanic. The theory was this : "The Crusader was the soldier of the Church, and this was his first allegiance, which released him from all other." Never was there a more sweeping, levelling, unrighteous theory proposed to mankind. But in its apparent piety lay its deep subtlety.

When Urban placed himself at the head of the armies of the faith in 1095, he assumed to be the director of their movements,

* Robertson, vol. iii., p. 341.

the dispenser of their blessings, their infallible counsellor and lawgiver. He preached that it was not a national war of Italy, France, or Germany, against the Empire of Egypt, but a holy war of Christians against the Mohammedans. No Christian was to go to war with another Christian, but all were to unite in a holy alliance against the common foe—the infidels. The privileges promised to all the soldiers of Christ were great and many, as may be seen by Urban's oration. They were assured of the immediate remission of all their sins, of the paradise of God if they fell in battle, or if they died on their way to the Holy Land ; and further, as to this life, the Pope declared all temporal, civil, and social obligations dissolved, by taking the Cross. Thus every tie was broken that binds society together, a new principle of obedience was substituted, and the Pope became the liege lord of mankind.*

THE KNIGHTS TEMPLARS AND HOSPITALLERS.

We may just notice, before leaving the subject, that during these wars of the Christians with the Mohammedans, three celebrated military-religious orders were founded—Knights of the Temple of Jerusalem, Knights of the Hospital, and Teutonic Knights. The principal duties of these knights, according to their founders, were to afford protection and assistance to the poor, the sick, and the wounded among the pilgrims, and to provide in every way for the defence of Jerusalem and the Holy Land. They soon became extremely popular. Many of the nobility of Europe accepted the Cross and professed the vows of the Knights of Palestine. Superstition enriched them, and, we need scarcely add, it also corrupted them ; and their wealth excited the cupidity of others. After the Christians lost possession of the Holy Land, these knights were dispersed throughout several countries. The Order of the Templars was dissolved by the Council of Vienne in the fourteenth century, and that of the Teutons in the seventeenth, by the German authorities. The Hospitallers obtained from Charles V the possession of the Island of Malta, and are now known as the Knights of Malta.†

* Milman, "Latin Christianity," vol. iii. p. 242. † Haydn's "Dictionary of Dates."

Chapter XXI

Henry V and Gregory's Successors

A.D. 1106-1122.

Having thus given a consecutive history of the Crusades, which has led us on to the end of the thirteenth century, we must now return for a little to the point where we left off, and gather up the threads of our general history.

The long and wasting wars occasioned by the dispute between Gregory and Henry as to *the right of investiture*, utterly failed to bring that question to anything like a settlement. The successors of Gregory, deeply imbued with his spirit, endeavoured by every means to carry out his scheme. On the other hand, the new king, Henry V, was equally determined to oppose the Papal demands, and also to recover all that his crown had lost by the spiritual tyranny of the Popes. He invested bishops with the ring and crosier as his ancestors had done, and compelled the prelates of Germany to consecrate them. Anathemas and excommunications without number from Popes and councils were fulminated against the rebellious Emperor, but he allowed them to roll peacefully over him. Thus the contest was continued though with less bloodshed than in Gregory's time.

THE DONATION OF MATILDA.

In the year 1115 "**the Great Countess,**" Matilda of Tuscany, died. Before her death she had made over to the Roman See her vast possessions. The deed which she executed was entirely contrary to feudal law, but in full accord with pontifical law. Thus a fresh subject of strife between the Popes and the Emperors sprang from this donation. Had the Pope been allowed to take peaceable possession of her estates, he would have been like a king in Italy. But, however devoted the great woman was to the Church of Rome, and sincere in her gift, the deed was contrary to law, and never fully took effect, although it ultimately contributed much to the temporal power of the Popes. But details need not be given. The world was growing weary of the history of Popes and antipopes, with factions, perjuries, and hypocrisies; of the monotony of bloodshed and devastation, which had lasted over half a century. All hearts yearned after peace, says one, and the love of battle had become extinct on both sides; the flame of civil and religious discord, which was kindled by Gregory and fanned by his successors, had been quenched in the floods of calamity. After many efforts peace was

ratified between the Pope's legates and the Emperor, in the year 1122, on the following conditions :

THE CONCORDAT OF WORMS.

The Pope **Calixtus,** though an inflexible asserter of the Papal claims, seeing the general eagerness for peace, gave instructions to his legates to convoke a general council of all the bishops and clergy of France and Germany at Mentz, for the purpose of taking into consideration the re-establishment of concord between the Holy See and the Empire. When this celebrated treaty was reduced into form and had received the golden seal of the Empire, the assembly adjourned from Mentz to a spacious meadow near the city of Worms. Here unnumbered multitudes assembled to witness the exchange of the ratified copies of the treaty which was to bring back civil and religious peace to all Europe. The ceremony concluded, according to the custom of the times, with a solemn mass and *Te Deum* by the Cardinal-bishop of Ostia, during which the legate communicated with the Emperor, and in the name of the Pope imparted the kiss of peace.

This treaty has been received from that day until now as the fundamental assertion of the **Papal and Imperial Rights.** Its stipulations were these :

" The Emperor gives up to God, to St. Peter and to the Catholic Church, the right of investiture by RING and CROSIER ; he grants to the clergy throughout the Empire the right of free election ; he restores to the Church of Rome, to all other Churches and nobles, the possessions and feudal sovereignties which have been seized during the wars in his father's time and his own, those in his possession immediately, and he promises his influence to obtain restitution of those not in his possession. He grants peace to the Pope and to all his partisans, and pledges himself to protect, whenever he shall be thereto summoned, the Church of Rome in all things."

" The Pope granted on his part, that all elections of bishops and abbots should take place in the presence of the Emperor or his commissioners, only without bribery and violence, with an appeal in cases of contested elections to the metropolitan and provincial bishops. The bishop-elect in Germany was to receive, by the touch of the sceptre, all the temporal rights, principalities, and possessions of the See, excepting those which were held immediately of the See of Rome ; and faithfully discharge to the Emperor all duties incident to those principalities. In all other parts of the Empire the royalties were to be granted to the bishop consecrated within six months. The Pope grants peace to the Emperor and his adherents, and promises aid and assistance on all lawful occasions."*

* Milman, vol. iii., p. 320 ; Greenwood, book xi. p. 673.

So ended the contest which had wasted Germany by a civil war for fifty years, and Italy by the most disastrous invasions. And a moment's reflection, on the adjustment of the quarrel and the slight concessions on either side, will show the awful iniquity of those who prolonged the struggle. But neither Calixtus nor Henry long survived the Concordat of Worms. The Pope died in 1124, and the Emperor in 1125.

It will not be necessary to say much more on the events of this century. The great features by which it is marked are the Crusades and their results, which we have already examined. But it may be well to notice briefly two or three remarkable men that appeared at this time, whose names are familiar amongst us to this day, and whose histories conduct us to the secrets and depths of the cloister. Besides, we learn more of the general state of religion, literature, and manners, from such individual histories than from mere abstract statements.

ST. BERNARD, ABBOT OF CLAIRVAUX.

The most celebrated of these men is the famous **St. Bernard.** He is considered the brightest representative of the Roman Catholic religion which the Church had seen since the days of Jerome, Ambrose, Augustine, and Gregory. For half a century he appears before us as the leading and governing head of Christendom—the oracle of all Europe. The Popes are lost sight of in the brighter light of the abbot. "He is the centre," says one of his biographers, "around whom gather the great events of Christian history, from whose mind flow forth the impulses which animate and guide Latin Christendom, towards whom converge the religious thoughts of men. He rules alike the monastic world, the councils of temporal sovereigns, and the intellectual developments of the age. He is believed by an admiring age to have confuted Abelard himself, and to have repressed the more dangerous doctrines of Arnold of Brescia." To those who have read his life this picture will not appear overdrawn. But as throwing light on those times we would first notice his training.

Bernard was born of noble parentage in Burgundy. His father, Tesselin, was a knight of great bravery and piety, according to the ideas of religion prevalent at that time. His mother, Alith, was likewise of high birth, and a model of devotion and charity. Bernard, their third son, was born at Fontaines, near Dijon, in 1091. From his infancy he was thoughtful and devoted to religion and study. His pious mother died while he was yet a youth, leaving six sons and one daughter. He was then left free to choose his occupation for life. What shall it be? He had no great choice; it must either be a fighting knight or a fasting and praying monk. He resolved at length to retire from the world and devote himself to the

monastic state. At the age of twenty-three he entered the monastery of Citeaux.

When his family first heard of his resolution, they were much opposed. His father, Tesselin, and his two brothers, Guido and Gerard, were following the great Duke of Burgundy to his wars, as military noblemen. But such was the force of Bernard's character that he influenced his brothers one after the other, and his sister also, to take the vow ; and the whole family in a short time disappeared within the walls of the convent.

ST. BERNARD AND MONASTICISM.

As monastic Christianity or enthusiasm, in the theory of the Roman Church, was at this time the only real Christian perfection, we will present the reader of the nineteenth century with a few particulars of the system, that he may be able to judge for himself of the extreme blindness of even true believers such as Bernard, and of the awful perversion of the sacred name of Christianity. Were the proofs not unquestionable, the facts could not now be believed. The renunciation of the world, solitude, asceticism, stern mortification, was preached as almost the only safe path to Heaven. The supposed merits of monkery, not the finished work of Christ, was the ground of admittance by St. Peter into the realms of glory. Hence it was that, the more sincere the monk, the more he inflicted on himself every kind of torture and misery. This was the deception : "The more remote from man, the nearer to God ; holiness was measured by suffering ; all human sympathies, all social feelings, all ties of kindred, all affections, were to be torn up by the roots from the groaning spirit ; pain and prayer, prayer and pain, were to be the sole, stirring, unwearying occupations of a saintly life."

Surely this is the masterpiece of Satan, the deepest delusion of the counsels of Hell. Let thy Holy Bible be the guide, and rest assured that all who believe on the Lord Jesus Christ *are*, not only *will* be, but *are* saved, and that all who truly believe will be careful to maintain good works, in virtue of the divine nature and the power of the Holy Spirit.

THE CISTERCIAN MONASTERIES.

Stephen Harding, an Englishman, originally from Sherborne, in Dorsetshire, was the abbot of the Cistercian Monastery at Citeaux. He followed St. Benedict's rule, with additional severities. They had but one common meal a day, and had been twelve hours at work before they received it. They never tasted meat, fish, or eggs, and milk only rarely.

It was usual when anyone wished to become a monk at Citeaux, says Bernard's biographer, to make him wait for four days before he was taken to the chapter in presence of the assembled convent.

After this he prostrated himself before the lectern, and was asked by the abbot what he wanted. He replied, "God's mercy and yours." The abbot bade him rise, and expounded to him the severity of the rule, and inquired of his intentions again ; and, if he answered he wished to keep it all, the abbot said, "May God who hath begun a good work in thee Himself accomplish it." This ceremony was repeated three days, and after the third he passed from the guesthouse to the cells of the novices, and then at once began the year of probation.

The following was the ordinary routine in the monastery during Bernard's year. At two in the morning the great bell was rung, and the monks immediately arose from their hard couches, and hastened along the dark cloisters in solemn silence to the Church. A single small lamp, suspended from the roof, gave a glimmering light, just sufficient to show them their way through the building. After prayer, or divine service, they retired, and after a brief repose rose again for matins, which took them about two hours ; then other services, partly regulated by the season of the year—summer or winter ; but they were employed in various religious exercises till nine, when they went forth to work in the fields. *At two they dined* ; at nightfall they assembled to vespers ; at six or eight, according to the season, they finished the day with compline, and passed at once to the dormitory.

But however severe we may think these practices and austerities to have been, they were far from satisfying the zeal and spirit of self-mortification of Bernard. He spent his time in solitude and study. Time given to sleep he regarded as lost, and was wont to compare sleep and death, holding that sleepers may be regarded as dead among men, even as the dead are asleep before God. He diligently read the Scriptures ; he strove to work out his own conception of perfect and angelic religion. He had so absolutely withdrawn his senses from communion with the outer world that they seemed dead to all outward impressions : his eyes could not tell him whether his chamber was ceiled or not, whether it had one window or three. Of the scanty food which he took, his unconscious taste had lost all perception whether it was nauseous or wholesome. He drank oil, but could not tell it from water. And yet this deluded man, though we doubt not he was already saved through grace, was doing all this for salvation ; and still, as a matter of course, he was not satisfied. He spoke of himself as but in his novitiate ; others might have attained, he had but begun his sanctification.

BERNARD'S PROFESSION.

A year has elapsed since Bernard entered Citeaux. His probation is ended ; he now makes his profession. This cere-

mony was performed with great solemnity, and surrounded with all that could impart to it awe and majesty. The novice was called into the chapter, and, before all, made disposal of any worldly goods he might possess. His head was shorn, and his hair burnt by the sacristan in a piscina used for this purpose. Going to the steps of the presbytery, he then read the form of profession, made over at the sign of the Cross, and, inclining his body, approached the altar. He placed the profession on the right-hand side of it, which he kissed, again bent his body, and retired to the steps. The abbot, standing on the other side of the altar, removed from it the parchment, while the novice on his hands and knees implored pardon, repeating three times the words, "Receive me, O Lord." The whole convent answered with "Gloria Patri," and the cantor began the Psalm, "Have mercy on me, O God," which was sung through by the two choirs alternately. The novice then humbled himself at the abbot's feet, and afterwards did the same before the prior, and successively before all the brotherhood—even before the sick if there were any. Towards the end of the Psalm, the abbot, bearing the crosier, approached the novice and made him rise. A cowl was blessed and sprinkled with holy water, and the abbot, removing from the novice his secular garments, replaced them with the monastic dress. The "Credo" was said, the novice had become a monk, and took his place in the choir."*

BERNARD LEAVES CITEAUX.

The arrival of Bernard, of his kindred, and his followers, at Citeaux, proved a turning-point in its history. The popularity of the small monastery was raised, and its dormitories were crowded. It soon became necessary to look out for the means of founding another. Bernard was selected by Stephen, the general of the Cistercian communities of France, as the head of the community. Twelve monks and their young abbot—representing the Lord and His apostles—were assembled in the Church. Stephen placed a cross in Bernard's hands, who solemnly at the head of his small band, walked forth from Citeaux. After travelling northward for nearly ninety miles, they came to a valley in Champagne, called the Valley of Wormwood, but which now exchanged its name for that of **Clairvaux**—the Bright Valley. It was a barren solitude; for a time the hardships which the little community had to bear were excessive. A rude fabric to shelter them from wind, rain, heat, and cold was raised with their own hands. They were obliged to live on beech leaves, nuts, roots, intermixed with coarse grain, until the Lord in mercy supplied their need from the compassion of the

* These accounts are chiefly taken from "The Life and Times of St. Bernard," by James Catter Morrison, M.A.

neighbouring peasants. Of course the supplies of money and corn were attributed to the miraculous intervention of Bernard, his piety, his prayers, and his prophetic visions. But the good Lord had pity and saved these poor deluded men from actual death by starvation.

William of Champeaux, Bishop of Chalons, hearing that the life of Bernard was in danger from the extreme rigour of his mortifications, succeeded in getting him away from Clairvaux for twelve months ; and, compelling him to take proper food and rest, he saved him from a slow but certain suicide. In later years Bernard expressed disapprobation of such excess in mortification as that by which he had weakened his own body and impaired his own strength.

THE POWER OF BERNARD'S PREACHING.

After this period, according to his biographers, the fame and influence of Bernard spread rapidly and widely. His health had suffered so much from ascetic practices that he could no longer labour in the field with his brethren for their daily subsistence ; but he laboured with his pen, and his preaching retained all its impressive solemnity and persuasive eloquence. His pale face, macerated form, and bodily weakness, contrasted strangely with his powerful voice, his gushing flow of language, and the burning fervour of his pathetic appeals. When it was known that he was to preach in any given place, wives hurried away their husbands, mothers withdrew their sons, friends their friends, from the resistless power of the saintly abbot, lest they should renounce the world for the cloister. His reputation as a preacher and a writer soon spread over the whole of Christendom, and all the world began to ascribe the impression he produced to a divine power, and to endow him with the gift of working miracles.

The "**Bright Valley**" was soon beset by candidates for admission ; the number of its inmates rapidly rose to seven hundred ; and the number of monasteries founded by Bernard himself amounted to *one hundred and sixty*. These were scattered over France, Italy, Germany, England, Spain ; indeed, over every country in the West. And, as might be expected, all looked back with superstitious reverence and affection to their founder. Clairvaux thus became a free and open court to which all might appeal without cost ; and from which, it is said, all retired without dissatisfaction, whether justified or condemned. He knew how to address himself to persons of every class in a style most suited to their understanding, and thus exercised an immense influence over all kinds of men. His wondering disciples vied with each other in publishing abroad the wonders wrought by his hand or his prayers, until his every act became a miracle and his every word a prophecy. The Gospels contain

not such countless miracles as the life of Bernard. He healed diseases by his touch, the bread which he blessed produced supernatural effects, and a blind man received his sight by standing on the same spot where the holy man had stood !

THE AGE OF MIRACLES AND VISIONS.

To those who are at all acquainted with the spirit and temper of the mediaeval age, these groundless beliefs will excite no surprise ; but to those who are only familiar with our own time it must appear strange that any one was found weak enough to believe them. And were it not for their *historical* value we should not think them worth transcribing. But they show, as nothing else can, the modes of thought and the measure of man's mental development at the time ; and on this ground we can understand and explain why such foolish tales and absurd fictions were received as the present revelation of God. The result was, as Satan designed, even in the case of true Christians, that the Word of God, which is the only standard of faith, and practice, was completely set aside and the deceivers' lies believed. Good man and talented as Bernard must have been, he was deeply imbued with the superstitious credulity of his age. He believed with others that God had performed miracles by him. But all men in the twelfth century, and for several ages, both before and after, believed in miracles, visions, revelations, and the interference of both good and evil angels with sublunary things.

The effect of the monastic system on the people generally in the dark ages must account for their readiness to believe anything a monk said, especially about good or evil, Heaven or Hell. The silvery peals of the convent bells were constantly reminding the warlike lord and his vassals of the heavenly occupation of the monks ; which, to their superstitious minds must have had a great effect. And we cannot wonder. There in the lonely valley, the solitudes of nature, stood the holy monastery. The prince, the peasant, and the pauper may knock at its gates and find a shelter within its hallowed walls. Peace is promised in this life to all who enter, and Heaven hereafter. The chorus-song of vigils and matins during the night must have appealed to the religious feelings of all around, and filled them with most holy awe and reverence for the unearthly people. Hence the monastery was looked upon as the gate of Heaven, and all its inmates as the servants of the Most High. It was no doubt a great mercy at that time to the poor, and to the people generally, especially during the reign of feudalism.

THE DEGENERACY OF THE MONASTIC RULE.

But before leaving the subject of the monasteries, having looked at them under the generalship of Bernard, it may be well

to notice what they had become before his day, and what they were afterwards. Most of the old monasteries had become wealthy and suffered from the natural consequences. Some had altogether relaxed their discipline, had long renounced poverty, and disregarded their vow of obedience to the abbot or prior. They had fertilised their immediate territory; and, as though they had now but to enjoy the fruits of their toil, they sank to indolent repose, and idleness brought its ten thousand other sins. Milman speaks of monasticism as tracing the same cycle in all ages. This is so truly and so graphically described that we quote the passage entire. But we must add that he leaves out in this paragraph the fearful immoralities, dissensions, and insubordination which were always the consequences of wealth.

"Now the wilderness, the utter solitude, the utmost poverty, the contest with the stubborn forest and unwholesome morass, the most exalted piety, the devotion which had not hours enough during the day and night for its exercise, the rule which could not be enforced too strictly, the strongly competing asceticism, the inventive self-discipline, the inexhaustible emulous ingenuity of self-torture, the boastful servility of obedience; then the fame for piety, the lavish offerings of the faithful, the grants of the repentant lord, the endowments of the remorseful king—the opulence, the power, the magnificence. The wattled hut, the rock-hewn hermitage, is now the stately cloister; the lowly church of wood, the lofty and gorgeous abbey; the wild forest of heath, the pleasant and umbrageous grove; the marsh, a domain of intermingling meadows and corn fields; the brawling stream or mountain torrent, a succession of quiet tanks or pools, fattening innumerable fish. The superior, once a man bowed to the earth with humility, care-worn, pale, emaciated, with a coarse habit bound with a cord, with naked feet, is become an abbot on his curvetting palfrey, in rich attire, with his silver cross borne before him, travelling to take his place amid the lordliest of the realm."*

A new order, a new institution, grew up under the hand of Bernard. Clairvaux was the commencement of a new era in the history of monasticism. Men of all ranks were attracted to the Cistercian order, notwithstanding the noted strictness of its discipline; and numbers of monasteries sprang up in the deserts after the pattern of Clairvaux. But all the power of Bernard could not prevent the most bitter jealousies and unseemly dissensions arising between the monks of the new and of the old orders, especially with the once celebrated monastery of Cluny, which had trained Hildebrand for the Papal throne.

* "Latin Christianity," vol. iii., p. 330.

BERNARD LEAVES CLAIRVAUX.
A.D. 1130.

A great **schism** in the Church, caused by two unprincipled Popes, was the occasion of St. Bernard being drawn reluctantly from his peaceful seclusion, and plunged at once into the affairs of the world. But, as an example of what was a common occurrence in connection with Papal elections, we will give a few particulars. The reader will see and judge for himself of Papal infallibility. Alas ! few of the Popes were outwardly decent.

When Pope Honorius II was dying, but before he had breathed his last, Cardinal **Peter Leonis,** a grandson of a Jewish usurer, made a bold effort to mount the chair of St. Peter. But the dying Pontiff being brought to the window and shown to the people as still alive, Peter and his friends retired for the moment. Another party, determined to exclude Peter, and watching till the poor Pope did die, at once proclaimed Cardinal Gregory Supreme Pontiff of the Christian world, under the name of **Innocent II.** The party of Peter at the same time went through the form of election with their Pope, dressed him in the proper pontificals, and declared that he, under the title of Anacletus II, was the authentic Vicar of Christ.

Rome, the scene of endless strife and warfare, was now filled with two armies of ferocious partisans. Devastation and bloodshed followed rapidly on their spiritual threats and curses. Anacletus, it is said, at the head of a mercenary band, began the attack by laying siege to the Church of St. Peter. He forced his way into the sanctuary, carried off the gold crucifix, and all the treasure in gold and silver and precious stones. These riches led numbers to side with him. Besides he was rich and could afford to pay for followers. He assailed and despoiled the Churches of the capital one after another. Innocent was soon convinced that Rome, in the present state of public feeling, could be no safe place for him. He determined to fly. His person was in danger. It was with great difficulty that he and his friends escaped in two galleys, and safely reached the port of Pisa. From thence they repaired to France, and were received with open arms by the communities of Cluny and Clairvaux.

Bernard zealously espoused the cause of Innocent. His zeal drew him from his den. He travelled from sovereign to sovereign from count to count, from monastery to monastery, until he could boast that Innocent was acknowledged by the Kings of France, England, Spain, the Emperor Lothaire, the more powerful clergy, and the religious communities throughout these countries. The powerful Duke Roger of Sicily alone adhered to Anacletus, which prevented Innocent returning to Rome. But death came to the relief of all parties. Anacletus died in his impregnable

fortress of St. Angelo, in January, 1138, having defied all his enemies for eight years. Innocent returned to Rome in May, with Bernard by his side, and was duly acknowledged as Supreme Pontiff.

THE GREAT COUNCIL OF THE LATERAN.
A.D. 1139.

Innocent, now undisputed master of Rome, assembled at the Lateran a general council. Never had Rome or any other city of Christendom beheld one so numerously attended. A thousand bishops and countless ecclesiastical dignitaries were present. The speeches and the decrees image forth the Christianity of the times. The *feudal authority* of the Pope was the great subject. He declared that, "Inasmuch as Rome is the metropolis of the world, from which all earthly power flows, so likewise the pontifical throne is the source of all ecclesiastical authority and dignity; and that every such office or dignity is to be received at the hands of the Roman Pontiff as a fief of the Roman See, and held of him as the great *spiritual liege lord.*"

As usual on such occasions, Innocent annulled all the decrees of his adversary Anacletus. *He* was consigned to the realms of Satan, and the prelates who had received schismatic consecration were degraded. They were summoned to appear before the revengeful Pope. He assailed them with indignant reproaches, wrenched their crosiers out of their hands, stripped the palls from their shoulders, and took from them their episcopal rings. After this, as if to consummate the vilest hypocrisy, the "Truce of God"—a cessation of private feuds and conflicts—its fullest extent was re-enacted. But the canon which most interests us in that celebrated council was directed against a class of men, who before long will force themselves on our notice. "We expel from the Church as heretics those who, under the semblance of religion, condemn the sacrament of the body and blood of Christ, the baptism of infants, the priesthood," etc. This anathema, and those against whom it was hurled, are like the faint streaks of the dawn of the great struggle for religious liberty which resulted in the glorious Reformation.

The remainder of this wretched man's life was almost entirely spent in war, notwithstanding his re-enacting the "Truce of God." He actually headed and led on an armed force against Roger of Sicily, the friend of Anacletus, but he fell as a prisoner of war into the hands of the Normans. Awe-struck with their holy captive, they bowed before him, obtained his blessing, and sent him home. Such was the superstition of the king, such the awful iniquity of the Pope. But his life was ebbing fast, and soon he must stand before the tribunal of the Judge of all the earth.

On the 24th of September, 1143, the Pontiff breathed his last, amid the turmoil of popular revolution and strife; and **Celestine II** reigned in his stead.

BERNARD AND ABELARD.

Before the death of Innocent, Bernard was called away from his peaceful retirement at Clairvaux, to make war against a new enemy of the Church, in the person of **Peter Abelard.** This new conflict arose out of the intellectual movements of the age, and marks a distinct epoch in the history of the Church, of literature, of spiritual and of civil freedom. We will briefly notice what led to it.

Most are aware that the learning which had been accumulated in the Latin and Greek languages was almost entirely destroyed by the barbarians in the fifth century. What is called the literature of the ancients was almost wholly lost when the barbarous nations were established on the ruins of the Roman Empire. For fully five hundred years gross ignorance prevailed. Any knowledge that remained was confined to the ecclesiastics; and they, during that period, were forbidden to study or copy secular learning. Nevertheless some of the monks, especially of the Benedictine order, collected and copied ancient manuscripts; and, says Hallam, "It is never to be forgotten that but for them the records of that very literature would have perished. If they had been less tenacious of their Latin liturgy, of the vulgate translation of Scripture, and of the authority of the Fathers, it is very doubtful whether less superstition would have grown up; but we cannot hesitate to pronounce that all grammatical learning would have been laid aside. But among them, though instances of gross ignorance were exceedingly frequent, the necessity of preserving the Latin language, in which the Scriptures, the canons, and other authorities of the Church, and the regular liturgies were written, and in which alone the correspondence of their hierarchy could be conducted, kept flowing, in the worst seasons, a slender but living stream."*

Among these monks there must have been every variety of mind: some, no doubt, coarse, sluggish, and mechanical; others refined, active, inquiring, which could not be confined within the barriers of the established Catholic doctrine, or submit to the power of the sacerdotal order. So it was; so it proved to be. The Reformer, the Protestant, sprang from the monastic order. There were many premature Luthers. In every insurrection, it has been said, whether religious or more philosophical, against the dominant dogmatic system, a monk was the leader, and there had been three or four of these insurrections before the time of Abelard. Gotschalk, in the ninth century, was scourged and

* "Literature of Europe in the Middle Ages," vol. i., p. 4.

imprisoned for his stubborn confidence in what was called *predestinarianism*. John Scot Erigena, a most learned monk from Ireland or the Scottish islands, was invited by Hincmar, Archbishop of Rheims, to oppose Gotschalk ; but he alarmed the Church no less than his antagonist by appealing to a new power above Catholic authority, human reason. He was a strong rationalist, but speculated largely in scholastic theology. Under the censure of the Church he fled to England, and found a refuge, it is said, in Alfred's new university of Oxford.

THE DAWN OF LIGHT IN THE DARK AGES.

During the latter part of the eleventh century we meet with the famous names of Lanfranc, **Anselm,** and Berengar. A fresh impulse was given to intellectual activity by the labours of these and other eminent teachers. It was about this time that the old cathedral schools developed into seminaries of general learning, and these became the parents of our modern universities. This intellectual activity, following a long apathy, became so extremely attractive that thousands crowded to the lectures, and, like men long debarred from the tree of knowledge, too eagerly embraced what they heard. But it was a reaction against the dogmatic authority of the Church, which taught men that it was henceforth possible to reason and inquire.

Peter Abelard was the most audacious, and by far the most popular, of all the lecturers on dialectics—professedly the science or art of discriminating truth from error by human reason. This remarkable man was born in 1079, near Nantes, in Brittany. His father, Berengar, was lord of the castle of Le Pallet, and although Peter was his eldest son, he early preferred "the conflicts of disputation to the trophies of arms," and, resigning the family inheritance to his brothers, betook himself to the life of a scholar. He was first a pupil of Rosellin, then of William, Archdeacon of Paris, and also of Anselm, theological lecturer of Laon. But the long and extraordinary history of this man we need not follow. It is a history of victories, crimes, and misfortunes. He was at once the representative and the victim of that scholastic theology which endangered the power and the constitution of the Roman Church. He was the first instance of a man professing the science of theology without being a priest. Wherever he went, thousands of enthusiastic scholars surrounded his chair. "Crowds," says Bernard's biographer, "amounting to thousands, crossed high mountains and broad seas, and endured every inconvenience of life, to enjoy the privilege of hearing Abelard lecture." "His eloquence," says another, "was so fascinating, that the listener found himself irresistibly carried away by the stream ; and if an opponent was hardy enough to stand up against him, the acuteness of his logic

was as infallible as the torrent of his oratory had been, and in every combat he carried away the prize." *

Abelard wrote, as well as lectured, on many important subjects; but he was most unsound on the fundamental doctrines of Christianity. And yet in all Europe no champion of truth and orthodoxy could be found to meet in single combat this giant of heresy. Bernard of Clairvaux was at length appealed to. A letter from William, Abbot of St. Thierry, drew him from his cloister. The saint and the logician met at Sens, in 1140. The King of France was present, with a great number of bishops and ecclesiastics. Abelard was surrounded with his disciples; Bernard with two or three monks. The one addressed the reason of the few; the other inflamed the hearts and passions of all classes. The one was supported by admirers; the other by worshippers. The one had been denounced as a heretic; the other had the reputation of being the most holy man of his age, above kings, prelates, and even the Pope. Under such circumstances Abelard had no chance. He soon felt the power that was against him; and, before the incriminated passages were all read, he rose up and said to the astonishment of all present: "I refuse to hear more, or answer any questions; I appeal to Rome," and left the assembly.

It is said by some, in explanation of this unexpected conduct, that the ranks of hostile faces which he saw before him, not only quenched his enthusiasm, but made him feel that his life was in danger. Hearing that a report of the council had reached Rome, and that he was condemned by the Pope, he applied in his distress to the "venerable" Peter of Cluny, who, from pity for his misfortunes, gave him an asylum in his monastery, though he was opposed to his doctrines.

We may just notice in passing, that the well-known story of the sufferings of his beautiful **Eloisa** gave birth to a new idea of woman's place in society, without which no true civilisation could have taken place. Up to this period the Church had avowedly looked with disdain on woman, because she had been first in the transgression. But the touching story of the misfortunes of Eloisa led to the elevation of woman to her proper place in the social circle.

The fallen and broken-hearted Abelard, after spending about two years in the solitudes of Cluny, receiving many kindnesses from its charitable abbot, and satisfying his ecclesiastical judges with the humility of his repentance, ended his agitated life in the year 1142. His principles lived in many of his disciples. One deserves a special notice.

* "Life and Times of Bernard," Morrison, p. 290; "Eighteen Christian Centuries," White, p. 266.

ARNOLD OF BRESCIA.

Although Arnold passed as a disciple and a faithful follower of Abelard, it is evident from all we can gather that he was a man of another order. There is reason to believe that he was a sincere Christian, and possessed many of the elements of a reformer though in an age unripe for reformation. Besides, he was too political—too great an admirer of the old Roman Republic—to be used of God in laying a solid foundation for the reformation of His Church. He was honoured with martyrdom, but it was more for his advocacy of civil liberty than for his preaching subjection to Christ and the Word of God. Nevertheless he commands our respect and gratitude, as an early sower of the seeds of the great Reformation.

Arnold was born at Brescia, in Lombardy—probably about the year 1105. At an early period in his history he separated himself from the secular clergy, embraced the monastic life, and began to preach unsparingly against the corruptions of both the clergy and the monks. He seems to have been possessed of an inward conviction that he had a divine commission to preach against the pride, luxury, and immorality of the priesthood, from the Pope himself down to the lowest rank in the Church ; and to this mission he boldly and fearlessly devoted all his strength. Possessed, according to all accounts, of the most vigorous and awakening style of address, combined with an eloquence which was singularly copious and flowing, he mightily moved the masses wherever he preached. "His words," says Bernard, "are smoother than oil and sharper than swords." His great idea was, the complete separation of Church and State. The old Papal edifice—the hierarchy, which had been rising into such vast proportions ever since the days of Constantine, and which, under Gregory VII, aspired to govern the whole world, and to bind all the nations of the earth as so many fiefs of St. Peter—he boldly maintained should be utterly demolished and swept from the face of the earth. He used as his text, what many have done since, though not knowing its spiritual import : "My kingdom is not of this world." Ministers of the Gospel, he argued, should have no power but for the spiritual government of the flock of Christ, and no riches but the tithes and the free will offerings of the faithful. The immense evils and discords that arose in the Church, he affirmed, were mainly owing to the vast riches of the Pontiffs, bishops, and priests.

While there was a great deal of truth in much that he said, he blended, in the most painful way, his love of old Roman liberty and the lowly religion of Jesus—the rigid monk and the fierce Republican. "If poverty was of Christ," he would exclaim, "if poverty was of His apostles, if the only real living likenesses of the apostles and of Christ were the fasting, toiling, barely-

clad monks, with their cheeks sunk with the famine, their eyes on the ground, how far from the apostles, how far from Christ, were those princely bishops, those lordly abbots, with their furred mantles of scarlet and purple, who ride forth on their curvetting palfreys, with their golden bits, their silver spurs, and holding their courts like kings!" Consistently with this, he also taught the people "that the temporal sovereign is the proper fountain of honour, of wealth, of power, and to that fountain should revert all the possessions of the Church, the estates of the monasteries, the royalties of the Popes and the bishops." *

ARNOLD'S PREACHING.

To these new and dangerous doctrines the people of Brescia listened with the greatest ardour. He unfolded to them the dark pages of ecclesiastical history, over which we have just been travelling. The whole city was in a state of the greatest excitement. Nor can we wonder at the enthusiasm of the populace, when they heard that the riches of the clergy should return to the laity, and that, in future, their pastors were to be supported by the voluntary contributions of their flocks. He would be a bold preacher who dared to arouse the people to fanaticism with such appeals and proposals in the nineteenth century: what must he have been in the twelfth, in the midst of darkness, ignorance, and superstition? Such a man was the premature reformer of Brescia; and, being a stern monk of blameless life, unquestioned as to his orthodoxy, and having full sympathy with popular religion, his power was resistless. The great object of his efforts was the complete overthrow of sacerdotal power—the temporal supremacy of the Pope. He thus dared to lay his hand on the great Papal scheme of universal dominion, and for a moment it tottered to its base. The Pope was driven from his throne, the Republic proclaimed, the standard of liberty raised, the separation of the spiritual and temporal powers published, and the government of priests abolished. But the enthusiasm of the citizens was evanescent, without unity, and of short duration. The soil was not yet prepared for the growth of liberty. The iniquity of the antichristian system was not yet full. Jezebel's thirst was not yet quenched with the blood of the saints of God. Millions more must perish before she receives her deadly wound. This we shall soon see.

Arnold was no longer safe in Italy. The resentment of the clergy he found to be stronger and deeper far than the favour of the populace. He escaped beyond the Alps, and ultimately found a safe and hospitable shelter in Zurich. There the forerunner of the famous Zwingle was allowed for a time to lecture, and the simple people long retained the spirit of his doctrines.

* "Christianity," vol. iii., p. 333.

But such a man must not be allowed to live anywhere. Bernard was watching his every movement. He urged the Pope to extreme measures; he wrote angrily to those who gave him a shelter, warning them to beware of the fatal infection of heresy. He sharply rebuked the diocesan bishop of Zurich for protecting him. "Why," he says, "have you not long since driven Arnold away? He who consorts with the suspected becomes liable to suspicion; he who favours one under the Papal excommunication contravenes the Pope and even the Lord God Himself. Now therefore that you know your man, drive him from among you; or, better still, chain him down, that he may do no more mischief."

After various fortunes, such as are common to that class of men, and such as we need not here trace, Arnold returned to Rome. Here he was allowed to remain for some time because of the feebleness of the Pontiff and the troubled state of the city; but when Pope Adrian ascended the throne of St. Peter, the days of Arnold were numbered.

THE MARTYRDOM OF ARNOLD.

A.D. 1155.

The new Pope was an Englishman of great ability; and the only one, it is said, that ever sat on the Papal throne. He was originally a monk of St. Albans, but obliged to leave his home because of the severity of his father. After travelling for some time on the continent, and studying divinity and canon law with great ardour and success, and rising from rank to rank in ecclesiastical orders, he was at length raised to the highest order of ecclesiastical greatness by the name of **Adrian IV.** His English name was Nicolas Breakspeare.

An opportunity now presented itself to get rid of the bold reformer. The Emperor Barbarossa was on his way to receive from the hands of Adrian the imperial crown. He sent forward an embassy of three cardinals to meet the Emperor, and to request as the price of his coronation the surrender of Arnold of Brescia into his hands. To a man who thought so little of human life as Frederick, it seemed but a light thing indeed, and he compelled the friends of Arnold to deliver him up into the hands of the Papal emissaries. No time was now to be lost, lest his friends should hear of it and attempt to rescue him. The Church took upon itself the summary condemnation and execution of the rebel, without employing, as usual, the temporal sword. Before break of day the officer of the Pope had imbrued his hands in the blood of his victim; his dead body was burned to ashes, and the remains cast into the Tiber, lest the people should collect and worship the relics of their martyred friend. The clergy triumphed in his death, but his memory lived in the minds of the Romans. "And in the ashes of Arnold's funeral

pile," says Milman, "smouldered for centuries the fire which was at length to blaze out in irresistible violence."

Bernard, the great antagonist of Abelard and of Arnold, had passed peacefully away at Clairvaux in the year 1153. The saint, the philosopher, and the reformer, are gone—gone to another world ; gone to be judged, not by Papal decrees, but by the throne of eternal righteousness and immaculate holiness. Faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and in the work which He finished for lost and guilty sinners is the alone ground of pardon and acceptance in God's sight. There is no purgatory but the precious blood of His Cross. But, what a mercy, that blood can make the vilest clean ! "Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean ; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow." Nothing short of the blood of Jesus can make a soul whiter than snow and fit for Heaven. All other means are but a mockery, a delusion of Satan, which only deepens and perpetuates the guilt of the soul. "The blood of Jesus Christ, God's Son, cleanseth us from all sin." Salvation is by faith alone without works of law. We must be grafted into the true vine before we can bear fruit to God. Christ is the only fruit-bearer ; believers are branches. "He that saith he abideth in him ought himself also so to walk, even as he walked." Apart from a true and living faith in Christ, there is no pardon, no salvation, no happiness, and no Heaven ; "but blessed are all they that put their trust in Him" (Psa. 51. 7, 12 ; 1 John 1. 7 ; 2. 6).

We now return to our history, and first we would notice—

THE MEETING BETWEEN ADRIAN AND FREDERICK.

Were it not for a circumstance which we consider purely childish, the meeting between Adrian and Frederick might have been passed without a notice, so little does it concern the history of the Church. But it concerns the history of the Papacy, and we think it right to note everything which manifests its true spirit while in the Thyatiran period. Besides, the most trifling incident sometimes reveals the most deeply seated purpose, and betrays the most unyielding determination.

The ready grant of Arnold's blood had not removed from the dark mind of Adrian all suspicion as to Frederick's intentions. The negotiations, however, were at length satisfactory, and Adrian rode to the camp of Frederick. He was courteously received by some of the German nobles and conducted to the royal tent. The Pope remained in his saddle, expecting the Emperor to come and hold his stirrup while he dismounted. But he waited in vain ; Frederick made no advance, and the Pope alighted without his assistance. This neglect of homage to the Supreme Pontiff was considered a great insult and indicative of hostilities. Most of the cardinals fled in alarm, but the intrepid Nicolas Break-

speare remained. Frederick pleaded ignorance of the custom ; but the Pope refused to be reconciled or give him the kiss of peace until he had humbled himself and gone through the ceremony. The haughty German said he must consult his nobles. A long discussion ensued. Adrian maintained that it had been the custom since the days of Constantine the Great, who held the stirrup for Pope Sylvester. This assertion was utterly false ; as the first act of such homage had occurred about fifty years before by Conrad, the worthless and rebellious son of Henry IV. But that was a small matter to the Papal party, if an Emperor was to be humbled and the Pope exalted. Alleged precedents were produced in order to prove that the practice had existed for eight hundred years ; and consequently, " as the Emperor had declined the honours due to the Apostles Peter and Paul, there could be no peace between the Church and the Empire till he had discharged that duty to the letter." Such was the blasphemous assumption of these wicked men. They urged their pretensions to the homage of mankind by representing themselves as in the place of the apostles—of Christ—of God Himself. As the evidence appeared in the Pope's favour, and Frederick did not mind much how it went, he allowed himself to be persuaded that the precedents were true, and that he ought to do homage to the Pope. Accordingly on the following day, like a dutiful son of the Church, the Emperor dismounted as Adrian approached, took his bridle in hand, and held his stirrup when he alighted. Outward amity was now restored, and the spiritual father and the obsequious son advanced towards the Holy City and proceeded with the coronation.

After a reign of about four years, and, we may add, of ceaseless strife and bloodshed, Adrian died, in 1159. He was preparing for the open declaration of war, and the excommunication of the Emperor, when death put an end to the conflict. So most of these men lived and so they died, at open war with the temporal power. **Frederick Barbarossa** is spoken of as the mightiest sovereign who had reigned in Europe since Charlemagne. He entered on the Third Crusade, as we have seen, in 1189, and died, or was drowned, in the stream Saleph near Tarsus, in 1190.

CHAPTER XXII

The Encroachments of Rome in England

A.D. 1162.

WE now approach a period in our history which must awaken a peculiar interest in the mind of the English reader. The **Anglo-Saxon** was giving place to the Anglo-Norman rule both in Church and State. The whole condition of the country was either changed or changing. But the Italian priest was far from being satisfied with the footing which he had under the reign of the Normans. The blooming vineyard of Naboth was coveted, and must be possessed by fair means or foul. England, with all its pride and wealth and power, must be reduced to a state of subserviency to the Roman See. This was her settled purpose, and necessary to the carrying out of her scheme. We will first notice the position of the antagonists, and then the nature and end of the fierce struggle.

During the reign of **Alexander III,** an able, subtle, and vigilant Pontiff, a great contest arose in England between Henry II and Thomas à Becket, Archbishop of Canterbury, which drew away and absorbed the whole mind of Europe for many years. It resembled in its main features the long war between Henry IV and Gregory VII, only, if possible, pursued with greater bitterness and obstinacy, and ending more tragically. A more violent collision between the spiritual and the temporal powers had not occurred since the days of Constantine. The personal character and the position of the leaders, no doubt, gave a world-wide interest to the conflict. But it was much more than personal : the whole question of the power of Rome in England, the prerogative of the Sovereign, and the responsibility of the subject, was involved in this new war. Henry, of true Norman blood, was determined to be the king, and to govern his subjects according to the laws and customs of the realm ; Becket, a violent churchman, was equally determined to maintain, according to the infallible decrees of Rome, that the hierarchy is a separate and privileged *caste* in the community, entitled to exemption from trial by civil process, and subject only to its own jurisdiction.

The English reader of the nineteenth century may well be surprised to hear that a decree from the Vatican, sent by the

Pope's legate, for the purpose of changing the laws and customs of England, should be for a moment listened to, far less yielded to. But this was the way then; and the mightiest monarchs in Europe were made to bow in ignominious submission at the feet of the Pontiff. But why this dreadful slavish fear of Rome? Because of the ignorance and superstition of the people generally. "The Romish system, with all its insolent pretensions, was still shrouded in a blood-red halo of superstitious reverence, which scared away thought, or quenched it in the fear of death temporal and eternal." The cunning priest could pretend to shake the keys of St. Peter in the face of his opponent, and threaten to lock him out of Heaven and to lock him up in Hell, if he did not obey the Church. It was their avowed sanctity and their wicked perversion of Scripture that gave them such power over the ignorant and superstitious.

THE ENGLISH LAW AND CUSTOM.

From the earliest period, the kings of England were acknowledged both by clergy and laity to have the fullest power in matters pertaining to the external government of the Church. Whether touching the property and the endowments of the Churches, or the persons of the clergy, the authority of the crown was, by law and custom of the realm, supreme. Edward, the Anglo-Saxon king, told the clergy that "they wielded the sword of St. Peter, he the sword of Constantine." And of **William the Conqueror**, his biographer says, "All affairs, ecclesiastical as well as secular, were made dependent on his pleasure." But during the twelfth century the country was gradually sinking into a state of deplorable subjection to the Roman See.

At the same time, we must not forget that, although the progress of the Church was toward Rome, God in his infinite mercy over-ruled the temporal power of the clergy and the great ecclesiastical establishments of the monks for the protection and blessing of the poor in the land. He ever thinks, blessed be His Name, of "the poor of the flock." By the Norman conquest of England, a foreign hierarchy as well as a foreign nobility had been introduced; but the lower offices generally were filled with Saxons, whose language and feelings were in sympathy with the native population. This gave them an immense power over the popular mind. They were looked upon as the true shepherds of their flocks, and the guides and comforters of the distressed. The Normans, whose language and feelings were still foreign, were hated as their oppressors and spoilers. The English had been sacrificed by William to supply the liberal grants of lands and places of honour, which he bestowed upon his followers; and thus the Saxons, in their turn, were compelled to become the servants or dependants of their con-

querors. Whatsoever a man sows, that shall he also reap. His sin is sure to find him out. But the feeling of personal wrong was another thing, and sure to mingle in every fresh conflict between the races. This is manifest in the great struggle between the Norman king and the English primate, and may assist us in our judgment of its important results. But we must first notice that which immediately led to the dispute.

THE INTRODUCTION OF CANON LAW INTO ENGLAND.

After repeated attempts and repeated failures, on the part of the Pope, to introduce a legatine power into England, it was so far accomplished during the troubled reign of **Stephen,** A.D. 1135. This was an entirely new thing in this country, and a most daring thing on the part of Rome. But as it forms a distinct and important epoch in the history of the English Church, we must carefully mark the change. And here, to ensure accuracy, we will quote a few passages from our legal historian, Thomas Greenwood, barrister-at-law, book xii., vol. v.

"The publication and adoption of the Isidorian Decretals changed the order and distribution of the ecclesiastical powers. Every function of Church management became vested in the clergy, or, which was the same thing, in the Pope of Rome as their supreme head. The authority of the State in all matters even remotely connected with the life and conversation, temporal or spiritual, of Churchmen, was vehemently denounced and repelled : their possessions were pronounced sacred and inalienable ; their duties subject to no censorship but that of their official superiors ; their persons exempt from secular jurisdiction or punishment ; all interference on the part of prince or secular person in the appointments of bishops, priests, or spiritual incumbents was declared to be of the nature of simony. Although these principles of Church legislation had been in few instances fully developed in practice, they had been received without contradiction, and partially adopted by the clergy of France, Italy, and Germany. In Normandy a complete separation of the secular and ecclesiastical jurisdiction had already taken place. In England, however, as yet the only canons known to clergy or laity were those enacted by the national Church herself, with the assent and concurrence of the sovereign...The exertions of the Romanising bishops of England, subsequent to the conquest, were steadily directed to the introduction of the more important articles of the Isidorian code ; more especially to the emancipation of Church property and endowments from its dependence upon crown or secular ordinance, and of the persons and causes of clerks from the interference of the king's judges."

"The earlier ordinances of William the Conqueror for the

separation of the ecclesiastical from the lay tribunals were never carried out to the extent of exempting Churchmen from responsibility to the law. But it is also true, that both the Conqueror and his successors, down to John, endeavoured to steer a middle course between canonism and prerogative. In their solicitude to stand well with the court of Rome, they often took steps which endangered the safety, but certainly never shifted the ancient basis of the law of the land, or the rights of the crown. In the bitter quarrel between Archbishop Anselm of Canterbury and Henry I, the latter stoutly maintained his right to determine which of the two rival pretenders to the Papacy the clergy of his dominions should recognise. And when Anselm, without the king's consent, insisted upon transferring his spiritual allegiance to Urban II in preference to his rival, Clement III, Henry bluntly informed him that 'he knew of no law or custom which entitled a subject, without the king's license, to set up a Pope of his own over the kingdom of England; and that any man who should presume to take out of his hands the decision of that question would have as good a right to take the crown from his head!'"

"The struggle between Henry and Anselm was long and obstinate. The bishop fled to Rome; the king seized the temporalities of his See. While the contest was still undecided, a Papal officer appeared on the coast announcing himself as legate of the court of Rome, entrusted with a *legatine power over all England from the Pope.* But the king held it to be a special prerogative of his crown to accept or reject at pleasure such interferences with the ordinary course of ecclesiastical government by a foreign prince; and the legate was sent away without having been admitted to the presence of the king. About fifteen years afterwards, the same Pope made a second attempt to introduce a legate-extraordinary into the kingdom, but with no better success...A third attempt of the same Pontiff was equally unsuccessful. It was indeed, by this time, pretty well understood that the law and custom of England repudiated the legative commission as an illegal interference with the ordinary course of Church government, which the common law had placed under the superintendence of the sovereign."

But after the death of the wise and able Henry I, which took place in 1135, the crafty and persevering Pope—**Alexander III**—was more successful. In the reign of Stephen, a feeble monarch, a legate from Rome made his way into our island. The Anglican prelates fully understood the drift of the movement; and a synod held in London protested, in the face of the legate, against the presumption of a foreign priest in taking the presidential chair above archbishops, bishops, abbots, and the assembled nobility of the whole realm of England. The protest, however,

remained without effect. A timid and time-serving spirit was creeping into the heart of the Anglican Church. The prevailing ignorance of the mass of the people, the secular character of the clergy, the miserable state of the whole country during the reign of Stephen, afforded a favourable opportunity for the systematic encroachments of the Romanising party upon the prerogative of the crown and the liberties of the national Church. The Anglo-Norman bishops at the time were barons rather than prelates, their palaces were castles, their retainers vassals in arms : almost all were wearing arms, mingling in war, and indulging in all the cruelties and exactions of war. Such were the prelates of England when Henry II ascended the throne in 1154. The opposition of Becket to this rich and powerful king throws a clearer light on the secular ambition of Rome than any of the conflicts we have yet recorded.

THOMAS À BECKET AND HENRY II.

The birth and parentage of **Becket** are unknown. The obscurity of his origin was probably concealed by his biographers. But some say that he was born about the year 1119. According to Du Pin he commenced his studies in London and finished them in Paris, the best school for Norman French.

Soon after his return to England he was strongly recommended to Theobald, Archbishop of Canterbury, who employed him in the management of his affairs. Becket was now on the high road to preferment. Theobald, who suspected that the young king Henry was tainted with his father's opposition to the pretensions of Rome, was anxious to place near his person one who might counteract this perversity. The sagacious primate had discerned in his archdeacon, not only great abilities for business, but the elements of a lofty, a determined, and devoted Churchman. Through his recommendation Becket was raised to the dignity of chancellor. "He was now the second civil power in the realm, inasmuch as his seal was necessary to countersign all royal mandates. Nor was it without great ecclesiastical influence, as in the chancellor was the appointment of all the royal chaplains, and the custody of vacant bishoprics, abbacies, and benefices." But as Thomas à Becket has come down to us in school and story book of English history, as a saint and a martyr, let us briefly glance at him, in the first place, as a man of the world.

THOMAS À BECKET AS CHANCELLOR.

A.D. 1158.

By the affability of his manners, the apparent pliancy of his disposition, the acuteness of his senses, and the attractions of his person, he soon gained the confidence and affections of the

king. He made him his constant companion in all his amusements and pleasures ; but it was in the graver affairs of government that Henry derived great advantage from the wisdom and prudence of his chancellor. His abilities, it is said, as an accomplished courtier, as a superior military leader, and as a practised statesman, were unrivalled. To the reader of the present day, an ecclesiastic, who held a number of clerical benefices, being a brave military general, sounds unaccountably strange. But such was the far-famed saint. One of his biographers remarks : " In the expedition made by King Henry to assert his right to the dominions of the Counts of Toulouse, Becket appeared at the head of seven hundred knights who did him service, and foremost in every adventurous exploit was the valiant chancellor. At a period somewhat later, he was left to reduce certain castles which held out against his master, and often distinguished himself for valour and personal prowess : he returned to Henry in Normandy at the head of twelve hundred knights and four thousand horsemen, raised and maintained at his own charge." Another observes : " Who can recount the carnage, the desolation, which he made at the head of a strong body of soldiers ? He attacked castles, razed towns and cities to the ground, burned down houses and farms without a touch of pity, and never showed the slightest mercy to any one who rose in insurrection against his master's authority." *

Grave and serious churchmen, even in those days, would no doubt mourn over such things in the Archdeacon of Canterbury ; but the practice was too common to excite much surprise. Secular dignity, alas ! had become the grand object of ambition with nearly all the clergy, so that many more would be found to admire the course of Becket than to grieve over it. His wealth, magnificence, and power exceeded all precedent. He was king in all but name. The world, it was said, had never seen two friends so entirely one. But like the friendship of the world, or of two selfish, ambitious, unscrupulous men, it lasted just as long as it served their interests. This we shall now see, and in a way which has been seldom witnessed.

THOMAS À BECKET ARCHBISHOP OF CANTERBURY.

A.D. 1162.

About a year after the death of Theobald, Becket was by the King named Archbishop of Canterbury and Primate of all England. Before his elevation to the throne, he had feigned to be wholly devoted to the interests of his royal master ; but from the moment that his election had been made known to Alexander III, and especially after their meeting at the Council of Tours, his whole heart and soul became completely changed towards

* Milman, vol. iii., p. 450

his sovereign. He returned from Tours to Canterbury, the professed, the inflexible vassal of Rome, an enemy to his king and the laws of his country. Such was, and is, and ever must be, the spirit of Popery. The intentions of the King to limit the growing power of the Church were well known to Becket, who had presided in his privy council. But these intentions must be opposed at all costs ; and thus the battle began.

The pretensions of the sacerdotal order as a separate *caste* of mankind, from the highest to the lowest, had become extremely perplexing to the civil government, and a great obstruction to its administration. The Church demanded complete exemption from the control of secular law. It was boldly maintained that the persons and property of the clergy should be placed beyond the reach of the ordinary tribunals, responsible only to their own superiors, and directly subject in life and property to the decrees of Rome. But lawlessness leads to violence ; and the result of this Papal aggression in England was a fearful increase of crime, to the imminent peril of the life and property of the subject. "For example," says our barrister, "it was proved that, since the commencement of the reign of Henry II, no fewer than a hundred murders had been committed by clerks in orders with almost absolute impunity. Rape, arson, robbery, theft were excused or sheltered under the frock of the priest or the cowl of the monk ; no penalties known to the canon law existed adequate to the repression and punishment of crimes of so deep a dye ; and King Henry was at length driven to put the significant question, 'Whether the ancient laws and customs of the realm were to be observed or not.'"

The King, determined to bring these great questions to an issue, summoned a Parliament at Westminster, and demanded a plain answer to his question. The answer given by the clergy to the King's question was that the ancient laws and customs of the realm ought to be observed and kept, "saving always the privileges of their order." This reply, although it had the appearance of an evasion, was really a refusal. The King, in a state of great consternation, broke up the assembly, left London, and began to deprive Becket of his power, and of the privilege and honour of educating his son. The bishops taking alarm, knowing the pride and power of Henry, entreated their primate either to withdraw or change the offensive answer. But he at first declared that if an angel from Heaven should counsel such weakness, he would hold him accursed. He at length, however, yielded : some say through the influence of Pope Alexander, as Henry had threatened not to pay Peter's pence. And thus, all through the long quarrel, the Pope sided with the king when he needed money, and with Becket when he could do without it.

THE "CONSTITUTIONS OF CLARENDON."

But, having received an answer in the affirmative from the hierarchy, the king summoned a great council of the realm to **Clarendon,** a royal palace near Salisbury, to ratify the concession. The King's object was peace. The law of the land was everywhere set at defiance by the Church, the exercise of justice interrupted, and the country threatened with an internecine war. The King had the laws and customs drawn up in due legal form to be signed by the lay barons and bishops, in the hope of settling the contest between the crown and the Church. Whether from fear of the King's rage, or from policy, or treachery, it is difficult to say, but the archbishop took the oath and signed the celebrated "**Constitutions of Clarendon.**" He was followed by the rest of the bishops. They thus escaped out of the hands of the King and the barons. But it is perfectly plain that Becket never for a moment intended to obey the laws which he had so solemnly sealed and sworn to keep to the King's honour. He knew his remedy for the basest perjury. Not a moment was to be lost ; he made known to the Pope what he had reluctantly done, and within a month he received a formal condemnation of the "*Constitutions*," with letters "absolving him from all engagements contrary to the canons, and a mandate to all the bishops and prelates of the kingdom without scruple to break through any promises of the like nature they might have contracted."

Could perjury be more deliberate, or dissimulation more coolly perpetrated? And that by one who stood highest in the Church and nearest to the person of his royal master? The heart sickens as the pen transcribes such daring, unblushing wickedness.

The archbishop, who had won the confidence, and made himself familiar with every feeling of the King's heart, kept the Pope fully informed of all that passed between them ; so that he well knew when to humour the King and when his zealous minister. But surely this is the basest of all treachery on the part of a servant, and the most unrighteous conduct on the part of his spiritual guide. But no man can serve two masters. He must be traitor to one ; and so it was in the case before us ; and one of the darkest complexion on record. No sooner had the primate appended his seal to the "Constitutions of Clarendon" than Alexander had notice both of his repentance and his renunciation. "The poison was no sooner swallowed than the antidote was at his lips." *

* "Cathedra Petri," book xii., vol. v., p. 219. See also a full account of the whole contest in Milman's "History of Latin Christianity," vol. iii., pp. 434-528. The former may be considered the constitutional, the latter the historical, view of the long quarrel.

THOMAS À BECKET OPPOSES THE KING.

War was now publicly declared between the prerogative of the crown and the pretensions of the Church. The same battle, which was fought between Henry IV of Germany and Gregory VII, was to be fought over again on English ground by the King and the archbishop. Becket resigned the chancellorship and returned the seals of his office. He withdrew from the pleasures of the court, the chase, the banquet, the tournament, the war, and the board of council, and became all at once an austere and mortified monk. He wore a monk's frock, a haircloth shirt, and flogged himself with an iron scourge. All his fine establishments were broken up, his horses and silver table services were sold; he fasted on bread and water, lay on the hard floor, and every night with his own hands he washed the feet of thirteen beggars. This assumed unapproachable sanctity was his strength for battle. Secular hands may not touch the holy man of God—the Lord's anointed high priest. Becket knew his man; he had studied every fold of his character.

Henry was astonished, uneasy, disappointed. He had raised his favourite minister to the still higher position of Archbishop of Canterbury, that his services might be more effectual against the Romanising party in England.

Now, he thought, we have one at the head of the Church, as well as the State, who will do good battle for the liberties of the crown and the people of his native land. But it was not for these worthy objects that Becket had accepted the ring and crosier. From the moment that he touched his episcopal crucifix, he was the sworn vassal to death of the Roman See, and the avowed enemy of every man and principle that opposed the interests of the chair of St. Peter. And Henry soon found that his able and pliant chancellor, "from whom he had expected support and victory, had turned against him with the most ruthless animosity, and pushed the pretensions of Rome to a pitch they had never reached before." *

THE PERPLEXITY OF THE KING.

It is not difficult to suppose with what feelings the proud and injured Plantagenet received the news of his primate's behaviour. Besides possessing wealth and power above any monarch of his time, he was a man of great ability, decision, and activity. After various but fruitless attempts to bring the refractory priest to repentance, orders were given that he should be tried as a traitor. Becket, knowing the temper and power of Henry, reasonably concluded that his best chance of personal safety lay in immediate flight. He was received by the King of France, not as a fugitive, but as a distinguished guest worthy of all honour.

* White's "Eighteen Christian Centuries," p. 275.

The archbishop was now proclaimed a traitor; his personal friends and relations and friends were banished; and severe measures were adopted to prevent communications with his partisans in England. Becket, in retaliation, excommunicated all his opponents.

At last, through the intercession of the French king and the Pope, he was allowed to return from his exile. The sincerity of Henry he much doubted, but his return he considered a glorious triumph over the King. He was as haughty and unyielding as ever. He demanded the immediate restitution of the estates of his See, and peremptorily refused to absolve the bishops and others whom he had excommunicated.

As from the beginning of the strife, his bearing was insulting and defiant. The conduct of Becket since his return was detailed to Henry by the bishops who implored his protection for themselves and the clergy of the realm. One of them incautiously said, "So long as Thomas lives, you will never be at peace." The King's mind was greatly troubled, and sought relief. Chafed to madness by the unconquerable firmness and arrogance of Becket, the secret wish of his heart burst from his lips: "I am an unhappy prince: will none revenge me on a single insolent priest, who gives me so much trouble, and endeavours by every means to make void my royal authority?"

THOMAS À BECKET ASSASSINATED.
A.D. 1171.

It is by no means certain that there was any deadly purpose in the mind of the King when he uttered these hasty words, but those around him put their own interpretation upon them. Four knights, chamberlains of the King, fierce and warlike men, resolved on the desperate service. Reginald Fitz-Urse, William de Tracy, Hugh de Morville, and Reginald Brito, disappeared from the court, then at Bayeux. Fearing the intention of the absent knights, the King despatched with all speed the Earl of Mandeville with orders to arrest the primate, and to recall the four knights. But the murderers hurried across the channel, and before the King's messengers could overtake them, the archbishop was assassinated.

The particulars of this dark deed of blood are well known to most of our readers, and need not be dwelt upon here. But we may add, as well-authenticated history, that it does not appear that the four knights had deliberately determined on the murder of the primate without first endeavouring to obtain a promise of obedience to the King, and to absolve the bishops. Hence they entered his chamber unarmed. But their imperious demands, and his haughty defiant answers, roused the worst passions of those feudal lords, who had a strong sense of the subject's

allegiance to the sovereign. They became furious, rushed out and called for their arms. The gates were closed behind them. It was some time before they could break in. Every one knew what must follow. The archbishop might have escaped. but he would not ; the victory was already his, it would be greater if he were martyred. The bell was tolling for vespers. He walked into the Church in solemn state, with his crosier carried before him. The noise of armed men was heard in the cloister ; the affrighted monks fled. "Where is the traitor ?" shouted one. No answer. "Where is the archbishop ?" "Here I am," he answered. Again the knights demanded the absolution of the bishops, and an oath of allegiance to the King. He refused. A fierce altercation followed, which ended in blows, and the archbishop was slain at the altar. The murderers fled, first to Rome to do penance, then to Jerusalem, where, according to the Pope's orders, they spent the remainder of their days in penitential austerities.

THE HUMILIATION OF HENRY II.

The King was greatly troubled on hearing the appalling news of the sacrilegious murder. A feeling of horror ran through Christendom, and the King was branded as an irreligious tyrant, and Becket was worshipped as a martyred saint. His death was attributed to the King's direct orders. For three days and nights the unhappy monarch shut himself up in solitude, and refused all food and comfort, till his attendants began to fear for his life. At the close of his penance he sent envoys to the Pope to clear himself of all participation in the crime. Alexander was so indignant at first, that he would listen to nothing, or even permit the execrated name of the King of England to be uttered in his presence. He threatened to excommunicate the King by name, and to pronounce with the utmost solemnity an interdict on all his dominions. "Mediators, however, were always to be found," says Greenwood, "for a proper consideration at the Papal court. Certain cardinals were cautiously sounded, and found not inaccessible to the arguments with which the envoys were, as usual, abundantly supplied. Thus introduced, the Pope permitted himself to be propitiated." Terms of reconciliation were talked of ; but the Pope had now his foot on the King's neck, and he was determined to have Papal terms before he relieved him. His personal triumph over the headstrong King was as complete as could be desired.

Two cardinals were despatched by Alexander with legatine power to meet Henry in Normandy, inquire more fully into the whole case, and substantiate the **King's penance.** Henry swore on the Gospels that he had neither commanded nor desired the death of Becket ; that he had not grieved so deeply over the death

of his father or his mother ; yet he confessed that words uttered in his anger against that holy man might possibly have led to his death ; for which cause he was prepared to do penance as the Pontiff might see fit to exact. The Holy See then demanded and Henry stipulated : " 1. To maintain two hundred knights at his own cost in the Holy Land. 2. That within three years he would take the cross in person, unless released by the Holy See. 3. To abrogate the " Constitutions of Clarendon," and all bad customs introduced during his reign. 4. That he would reinvest the Church of Canterbury in all its rights and possessions, and pardon and restore to their estates all who had incurred his wrath in the cause of the primate. 5. That he, and his son Henry the younger, would hold, preserve, and keep the crown of England faithful to Pope Alexander and his successors, and that they and their successors would not regard themselves as true kings until they—the Pope and his successors—should have acknowledged them as such." Having duly sealed and attested the formal deed, the King was reconciled to the Pope in the porch of the Church, on May 22, 1172 ; but he was not yet out of the hands of the inexorable priests ; his degradation was not yet complete.

The clergy preached from their pulpits, and the people were ready enough to believe, that certain family trials which befel the King about this time were the judgments of God for the persecution of His saint. The people were also led to believe that the saint had been fighting the battles of the poor against the rich—especially of the poor and oppressed Saxons against the cruel and avaricious Normans. Depressed by misfortunes, accused of complicity with the murderers, and haunted by superstitious fears, the unhappy prince was prepared to make a full atonement for his sins. Nothing short of a public humiliation he was assured, could appease offended Heaven and the martyred saint. The scenes of Canosa must be enacted over again. Such is the true spirit of the relentless priesthood of Rome. If they cannot shed the blood of their victim, they will force him to drink the bitterest dregs of humiliation.

HENRY AT THE TOMB OF BECKET.

A.D. 1174.

About three years after the death of Becket, the King visited his tomb at Canterbury. When he came within sight of the Church where the archbishop lay buried, he alighted from his horse, and for three miles walked in the habit of a pilgrim with bare and bleeding feet along the rough road. He threw himself prostrate before the tomb of the now canonised saint. After lying in that position for a considerable time he prayed to be scourged by the monks ; an operation which they were not

unwilling to perform. So, from one end of the Church to the other, the pride of the monks was gratified, by each one inflicting a few stripes on the back of the haughty Norman. He then passed all that day and night without any refreshment, kneeling upon the bare stones.

The triumph of the spiritual over the temporal power, in the person of the King, and well nigh over the law of the land, was complete. And thus the ambitious purposes of the Papacy were better served by the death of their champion than they could have been by a prolongation of his life.

Before taking our leave of this already long story, we would further add, that the tragical **death of Becket** was immediately and diligently improved by the disciples of his school. Biographies and memoirs of the martyr, we are informed, were multiplied and scattered abroad with surprising industry. The strong element of idolatry, which has ever been in the Church of Rome, now became manifest in England. Pilgrimages to the tomb of the martyr for the remission of sins became fashionable ; and the saint himself became an object of popular devotion. Pilgrims from all parts flocked to his shrine, and enriched it with the most costly gifts and offerings. A large trade was done in articles said to have been in contact with his person, and were now invested with miraculous virtue. As many as one hundred thousand pilgrims were registered on one occasion in Canterbury. Even Louis VII of France made a pilgrimage to the wonder-working tomb, and bestowed on the shrine a jewel which was esteemed the richest in Christendom. But **Henry VIII** dared to pillage the rich shrine, ordered the saint to be raised, his bones to be burned, and his ashes to be thrown to the winds.

Chapter XXIII

The Theology of the Church of Rome

We are now crossing the threshold of the **thirteenth century.** The great actors and the stirring times of the twelfth have passed away. The right time has come, we believe, when the *witnesses* for God and His truth should have a special place in our history. They come prominently before us from the close of the twelfth century. But first of all it may be well to place before our readers certain theological definitions and usages of the Roman Church at this time, for we shall find that by these the witnesses were judged, and the Papacy gained its power over the lives and liberties of the saints of God.

THE SEVEN SACRAMENTS.

In the New Testament, where all is plain and simple, we only read of two sacraments, or divine institutions, as connected with a saved people—baptism and the Lord's Supper. But in both the Greek and Latin Churches the number had been greatly increased and variously stated by different theologians. It was no longer a question of divine revelation, but of the human imagination. Some speak of as many as **twelve sacraments** ; but in the Western Church the mystical number of seven was ultimately established, as corresponding with the idea of the sevenfold gifts of the Holy Ghost. And these were—baptism, confirmation, the eucharist, penance, extreme unction, ordination, and matrimony.*

Thus was the snare laid for the feet of the true followers of Christ. It mattered not how sincerely a man believed and obeyed the Word of God, if he disregarded the sacraments of the Church and her numerous ceremonies, he exposed himself to the charge and the consequences of heresy. On the other hand, it mattered nothing though the Word of God was utterly despised, if obedience to the Church was professed. But for all who followed the Lord according to His Word escape was impossible. The net was widely spread.

TRANSUBSTANTIATION.

To attempt an enumeration of all the additions made to the outward observances of religion would be hopeless. Many new

* See J. C. Robertson, vol. iii., pp. 259-272.

rites, ceremonies, usages, holidays, and festivals were added from time to time, both by the pontiffs publicly and by the priests privately. But no priestly invention ever made such way, or produced such an impression on the popular mind as transubstantiation. The dogma nowhere occurs in the writings of either the Greek or Latin Fathers. The first trace of it is to be found in the eighth century. In the ninth, a period of great darkness, the monk Pascasius seems to have given form and definiteness to the monster superstition. In the eleventh, it was strongly opposed by Berengar of Tours, and ably defended by Anselm of Canterbury. It continued to be a subject of contention among the doctors till the fourth Lateran Council, which was held in the year 1215. It was then placed among the settled doctrines of the Church of Rome. By a canon of that council it was affirmed, that when the officiating priest utters the words of consecration, the sacramental elements of bread and wine are converted into the substance of the body and blood of our Lord Jesus Christ. "The body and blood of Christ," they say, "are contained really in the sacrament of the altar under the species of bread and wine; the bread being transubstantiated into the body of Jesus Christ, and the wine into His blood by the power of God, through the officiating priest. The change thus effected is declared to be so perfect and complete, that the elements contain Christ whole and entire—divinity, humanity, soul, body, and blood, with all their component parts." *

From that period, the consecrated bread of the Eucharist received divine honours. Important changes also were introduced about the same time in the manner of administering the sacrament. The consecrated wine, it was said, was in danger of being profaned by the beard dipping into the chalice, from the sick not being able to swallow it, and from children being likely to spill it. So the cup was withheld from the laity and the sick; and infant communion discontinued altogether, at least by the Latins; the Greeks retained it and still practise it.

The most dreadful **superstitions** naturally followed the establishment of the doctrine of transubstantiation. At a certain part of the mass service the priest elevates the host—the consecrated sacramental wafer—and at the same instant the people fall prostrate before it in worship. On some occasions, the wafer is placed in a beautiful casket, and carried in solemn procession through the streets, every individual, as it passes him, bowing the knee in token of adoration. In Spain, when a priest carries the consecrated wafer to a person who is supposed to be dying, he is accompanied by a man ringing a small bell; and at the

* Gardner's "Faiths of the World," vol. ii., p. 905. See also an able essay on this subject, Edgar's "Variations of Popery," pp. 347-388.

sound of the bell all who hear it are obliged to fall on their knees and remain in that posture as long as they hear its sound. The priests make the people believe that the living God, in the form of bread, resides in that casket, and may be carried from place to place. Surely this is the consummation of all iniquity, idolatry, and blasphemy ; and the exposing of everything sacred to the ridicule of the profane. It was conceived and cradled in a time of great ignorance, depravity, and superstition.

Such was and is the daring wickedness of the **Popish priesthood** ; such the pitiful but guilty blindness of the Romish Church !

Yet God has suffered it a thousand years ; but a day of reckoning will come when He will judge the secrets of men's hearts, not by the standard of a Roman ritual, but by the Gospel of Jesus Christ our Lord. " For it is written, As I live, saith the Lord, every knee shall bow to Me, and every tongue shall confess to God. So then every one of us shall give account of himself to God " (Rom. 14. 11, 12).

MARY-WORSHIP.

The worship of the Virgin Mary originally sprang from the ascetic spirit which became so prevalent in the fourth century. Before this period, there is no trace of the worship of Mary. About the same time—the close of the fourth century—it was discovered and circulated that there were in the temple at Jerusalem virgins consecrated to God, among whom Mary grew up in vows of perpetual virginity. This new doctrine led to the veneration of Mary as the very ideal of the celibate state, and sanctioned the profession of religious chastity. Soon after this it became customary to apply to the virgin the appellation, " **Mother of God** ; " which gave rise to the Nestorian controversy. But in spite of all opposition, Mary-worship prevailed, and in the fifth century images and beautiful paintings of the virgin, holding the infant Jesus in her arms, were placed in all the Churches. Thus introduced, she rapidly rose into an object of direct worship ; and Mariolatry became the ruling passion of the Romish Church. The daily office for Mary, and the days and festivals which had been dedicated to her honour, were confirmed by Urban II in the Council of Clermont, A.D. 1095.

Reverence for the blessed virgin was now an established doctrine and practice in the Church of Rome, and has so continued down to the present day. Romanists may affect to deny that they honour Mary with the worship due to God only, but in their books of devotion prayers to the virgin occupy a prominent place. No prayer, we believe, is in more constant use than the " Ave Maria," or " **Hail Mary,**" which, after quoting a passage from the salutation of the angel Gabriel to the virgin, adds these words, " Holy Mary, Mother of God, pray for us sinners now, and in the

hour of death, Amen." Again, in another prayer, the virgin is thus addressed, "We fly to thy patronage, O holy Mother of God, despise not our petitions in our necessities, but deliver us from all dangers, O ever glorious and blessed Virgin." Another runs thus, "Hail, holy Queen Mother of mercy, our life, our sweetness, and our hope! to thee we cry, poor banished sons of Eve, to thee we send up our sighs, mourning, and weeping in this valley of tears; turn, then, most gracious advocate, thine eyes of mercy towards us," etc. She is also called, "Ark of the Covenant," "Gate of Heaven," "Morning Star," "Refuge of sinners," and many other such terms, which plainly show the idolatrous place which Mary occupies in the devotions of the Romish Church.*

The **Rosary,** that is, a series of prayers, and a string of beads by which they are counted—consists of fifteen decades. Each decade contains ten Ava Marias, marked by small beads, preceded by a Pater Noster, marked by a larger bead, and concluded by a Gloria Patri. The Romish Breviary also, the great universal book of devotion, of which every priest must read a portion each day in private under pain of mortal sin, uses the following strong language as to the virgin: "If the winds of temptation arise, if thou run upon the rocks of tribulation, look to the star, call upon Mary. If thou art tossed on the waves of pride, of ambition, of distraction, of envy, look to the star, call upon Mary. If anger or avarice, or the temptation of the flesh toss the barque of thy mind, look to Mary. If disturbed with the greatness of thy sins, troubled at the defilement of thy conscience, affrighted at the horrors of the judgment, thou beginnest to be swallowed up in the gulf of sadness, the abyss of despair, think upon Mary—in dangers, in difficulties, in doubts, think upon Mary, invoke Mary." So completely did the worship of Mary become the worship of Christendom, that every cathedral, almost every spacious church, had its "*Chapel of our Lady.*"

It is surely more than evident from these quotations, that Mary is addressed as not only an intercessor with her Son, but the first and highest object of worship. And these are calm and sober specimens compared with the wild language of a chivalrous adoration, which is to be found in hymns, psalters, and breviaries. The attributes of Godhead are assigned to her, and she is represented as the **Queen of Heaven,** and sitting between cherubim and seraphim. The dogma of the Immaculate Conception was the natural result of this growing adoration of Mary. It has been reasserted as an article of faith in the Romish Church by the present Pope, and generally accepted.

* For details see "Mariolatry," Gardner's "Faiths of the World," vol. ii., p. 372. Butler's "Lives of the Saints," October 1—the great Roman Catholic book on this subject.

SAINT-WORSHIP.

The origin of saint-worship may be considered as coeval with that of Mary-worship, and the fruit of the same soil. Indeed it is the same thing; only Mary is raised high above all the host of saints and martyrs because of her peculiar sanctity and her great influence in Heaven.

The veneration that was paid in the early ages of Christianity to those who had faithfully witnessed and suffered for Christ, no doubt led to the practice of invoking the saints, and imploring the benefit of their intercession. A pardonable affection became a superstitious veneration, and ended in a positive adoration. The step between veneration and adoration is easy and natural, though not always observable. Hence the importance of the apostle's warning, "Little children, keep yourselves from idols." According to this word it would appear that all who have not the Person of Christ before them as the one all-governing object of the heart, have an idol. The apostle has just been speaking of our wondrous place and blessing in Him, as he says, "We are in Him that is true, even in His Son Jesus Christ. This is the true God and eternal life." Having eternal life in Him, and being identified with Him as to our position before God, surely He ought to be our one object. Any other is an idol. And the best of Christians are in danger of paying too much homage to some favourite teacher or leader. How will all this compare with John's Epistle in the last great day? The Lord keep us from undue veneration for the creature, whether living or dead!

A great and influential system arose out of these small beginnings, through the subtlety of the priesthood, which ultimately brought enormous wealth to the Church. **Pilgrimages** with their atonement money and free will offerings are parts of the system. At an early period in was customary to perform religious services with peculiar sanctity at the graves of the saints and martyrs. But as the darkness thickened and the spirit of superstition increased, this was not enough. In the fourth century splendid Churches were built over their once humble burial places; and even some supposed relic of the saint was enshrined in the building erected to his honour. It was usually affirmed that the body of the miracle-working saint was buried under the high altar, and that there was a special efficacy in the intercession of such saints. This drew myriads to their shrines; some to see wonders done, others to have miracles wrought in their favour, or receive good to their souls. Pilgrimages soon became the most popular kind of worship, and as the worshippers were lavish with their oblations—their hearts being warm and tender—it was greatly encouraged by a sordid priesthood. During the sixth century an incredible number of temples arose

in honour of the saints, and numerous festivals were instituted to keep up the remembrance of these holy men.

According to Milman and others, so popular did saint-worship become, that they were in danger of being overlooked because of their multiplicity, or rather, infinity. "The crowded calendar knew not what day it could assign to the new saint without clashing with or dispossessing an old one. The East and the West vied with each other in their fertility. But of the countless saints of the East, few comparatively were received in the West; and the East as disdainfully rejected many of the most famous, whom the West worshipped with the most earnest devotion. Still the multiplicity of the saints bears witness to the universality of the idolatry." Rivalry of church with church, of town with town, of kingdom with kingdom, or order with order, kept up a state of excitement for centuries, in order to attract the concourse of worshippers to the shrine of their patron saint. The fame of some new celebrated saint, such as St. Thomas of Canterbury, drew away for a time the traffic and profit from other places. Hence the necessity of creating some fresh excitement by fresh discoveries of that which would turn the tide in favour of the new shrine. Even while we write—September, 1873, most sorrowful to say, nearly a thousand pilgrims from England are on their way, not with naked feet as of old, to Paray-le-monial, in France, there to bow down before the shrine of the "**Sacred Heart,**" in honour of the blessed Mother, Margaret Mary Alacoque. This is a surprise to all, and awakens deep thoughts in many minds as to its real object in the mind of the Papacy. Professedly of course it is for the good of the pilgrims' souls, the honour of the saint, and the triumph of the Church. If we go as far back as the days of Origen, who was the first to inculcate saint-worship, or to the shrine of Martin of Tours, which was the most popular in the fourth and fifth centuries; and come down to the present day, we have about fourteen hundred years of saint-worship and pilgrimages both in the Greek and Latin Churches. No wonder that the Mohammedans concluded that all Christians were idolaters.

Most of us have been familiar with the names of what may be called *universal saints*, such as the early fathers and the patrons saints of kingdoms; but to discover on a closer search the extent of this idolatry is truly appalling. Throughout the extent of Roman Christendom there is to every country, community, and individual, an intercessor with Christ, who is the One Great Intercessor between God and man. Many Catholics chose their patron saint from their birthday—the saint's day on which they were born. The saint is regarded as the peculiar protector of the individual, community, or country; so that scarcely less than Divine power and Divine will are assigned to the patron saints.

The argument is that, having been human, and still possessed of human sympathies, they are less awful, more accessible, than Christ, and may exercise their influence with Him for the benefit of the places and companions of their earthly sojourn. They are represented, however, as being changeable, and easily offended. Fruitful harvests, victory in war, deliverance in affliction, safety in travelling, and the like mercies, are attributed to their prayers ; but, if they should be calamities, the saint is supposed to be offended, and must be appeased. More honour must be paid to his shrine, and more costly offerings must be laid upon his altar.

RELIC-WORSHIP.

The history of relic-worship being similar in its character to that of saint-worship, a brief notice will be sufficient. Its origin is the same. The passion, the weakness, it may be, of our nature, for cherishing memorials of beloved ones, was used by the enemy to betray Christians into the most degrading kind of worship. If it was argued, our fondness for the memorials of human affection be so excusable, and so amiable, "how much more so of objects of holy love, the saints, the blessed Virgin, the Saviour Himself!" But, however specious such reasoning may be, it is neither fair nor true. The deep delusion, the Satanic power, and the terrible wickedness of relic-worship, lies mainly in the fact that the Church of Rome maintains *that there is an inherent indefeasible power in relics to work miracles* ; and as such they are used and devoutly worshipped, from the Pope down to the lowest in her communion.

As early as the days of Constantine, reverence for the **relics of saints and martyrs** had assumed the more definite form of positive adoration. The Empress Helena, mother of Constantine, in her superstitious zeal to do honour to the places in Palestine which had been hallowed by the life and death of the Saviour, erected splendid Churches over the supposed places of His birth, His death, and ascension. During the necessary excavations the Holy Sepulchre, it was affirmed, came to light ; and in the sepulchre were found the three crosses and the tablet, with the inscription originally written by Pilate in three languages. The news of this wonderful discovery rapidly spread all over Christendom, and created great excitement. As it was doubtful to which of the crosses the tablet belonged, a miracle decided the claims of the true Cross. Singularly enough, the nails of the Saviour's passion were also found in the holy sepulchre. These precious treasures we need scarcely say, proved inexhaustible capital for the traffic in relics. Parts of the true Cross were made into crucifixes for the rich, and parts were enshrined in the principal Churches both in the East and the West. So rapidly did the

wood of the cross vegetate, said the wits, that it soon grew into a forest.

The passion for relics, which had been increasing every century, was greatly nourished by the crusades. Many saints before unknown, and relics innumerable, were then introduced to the Christians of the West. Passing over the vast quantity of old bones of reputed saints and other smaller relics, which were brought from the East, and became an important branch of traffic, we notice two or three of the most famous. And the chief amongst these was the "**holy vessel**"—a green glass cup, said to be an emerald—brought from Caesarea, and venerated as having been used at the last supper. Another relic of great fame was the **seamless coat** of our Lord, said to be found at Argenteuil, in 1156; and also the *holy coat*, said to have been presented by the Empress Helena to the Archbishop of Treves.

We need only further add as a practical illustration of relic-worship, that in holy week every year the Pope and cardinals go in procession to St. Peter's at Rome, for the purpose of adoring the three great relics. When performing the ceremony they kneel in the nave of the Church, and the relics, which are exhibited from the balcony above the statue of St. Veronica, consist of a part of the wood of the true Cross, one half of the spear that pierced the Saviour's side, and the holy countenance. This latter relic is a piece of cloth on which our Lord is said to have miraculously impressed His countenance, and which was brought to Italy for the cure of the Emperor Tiberias when afflicted with leprosy. The ceremony takes place in solemn silence. Outwardly no act of worship is more profound in the Roman Catholic Church. Could folly, we may ask, or absurdity, or human weakness, or Satanic power, be carried to a greater height? For men of education, and, in many cases, men of cultivation and piety, to bow down in profoundest adoration before a piece of rotten wood, a broken spear, and a painted rag, can only be accounted for on the principle of the most solemn judicial blindness. Gross darkness has long settled down on both priest and people through their deliberate concealment of the Word of God and quenching the light of the Holy Spirit. And this must always be the case, more or less, whether for Catholic or for Protestant, when God and His Word are disregarded, as saith the prophet, "Give glory to the Lord your God, before he cause darkness, and before your feet stumble on the dark mountains, and while ye look for light, He turn it into the shadow of death, and make it gross darkness" (Jer. 13. 16).

PURGATORY.

Augustine, Bishop of Hippo, is said to be the first who suggested the doctrine of a middle state, but his opinions are vague

and uncertain. It was not formally received as a dogma of the Church of Rome until the time of Gregory the Great, A.D. 600. He has the reputation of being the discoverer of the fires of Purgatory. In discussing the question of the state of the soul after death, he distinctly says, "We must believe that for some slight transgressions there is a purgatorial fire before the day of judgment." But as the growth of this doctrine for hundreds of years is extremely difficult to trace, we will refer at once to the decrees of the Council of Trent, the great and undisputed authority on the subject.

"There is a Purgatory," says the Council, "and the souls detained there are assisted by the suffrages of the faithful, but especially by the acceptable sacrifice of the Mass. This holy council commands all bishops diligently to endeavour that the wholesome doctrine concerning Purgatory, delivered unto us by venerable fathers and sacred councils, be believed, held, taught, and everywhere preached by Christ's faithful...In the fire of Purgatory the souls of just men are cleansed by a temporary punishment, in order to be admitted into their eternal country, into which nothing that defileth entereth...The sacrifice of the Mass is offered for those that are deceased in Christ, not entirely purged." *

Roman Catholic writers attempt to support this dreadful dogma from various passages of Scripture, but chiefly from the Apocrypha and tradition. With the two latter we have nothing to do. Anything men please may be proved from such uncertain sources; but nothing can be more daring, and at the same time more futile, than their misapplication of Scripture on this subject. Take two texts as an example: 1, "Thou shalt by no means come out thence till thou hast paid the uttermost farthing" (Matt. 5. 26). Here the Catholics are inconsistent with themselves; for if venal sins are forgiven in Purgatory, the passage speaks of the uttermost farthing being paid. Surely we cannot speak of a debt being forgiven, and at the same time paid to the last farthing. 2, "Quickened by the Spirit, by which (clearly, 'by which Spirit') also he went and preached unto the **spirits in prison**" (1 Peter 3. 18, 19). (1) This passage can have no reference to the supposed prison of Purgatory, for those who are guilty of mortal sin do not go there. And, strangely inconsistent, according to the Douay version of the passage, the antediluvians were "incredulous," unbelievers, guilty of mortal sin. And, as we have seen in our extracts, Purgatory is only for "those that are deceased in Christ, not entirely purged." (2) The passage also teaches that Christ did not preach in *person*. He preached by the Spirit in Noah to the antediluvians who are

* Paul's "Council of Trent," p. 750. See also, for details, Milner's "End of Controversy," Letter 43.

now in prison. So little to the point are the texts alleged in favour of Purgatory, that thoughtful Roman Catholics endeavour to support the dogma by the authority of the Church alone.

There is much vagueness with Romish writers, and even with the Council of Trent, as to **where** Purgatory is, and **what** it actually is. The general opinion seems to be, that it is under the earth, and adjoining Hell—that it is a middle place between Heaven and Hell, in which the soul passes through the fire of purification before it enters Heaven.

But how material fire can purify a spirit, Catholic writers have been careful enough not to define. Those in the middle state, says the Council of Florence A.D. 1439, are in a place of torment, "but whether it be fire, or storm, or anything else, we do not dispute." Still the general voice seems to be that it is a prison, in which the soul is detained, and tortured as well as cleansed; and that, not by mental anguish or remorse, but by a real fire, or what fire produces. And yet so varied are the opinions of their best theologians, that some have represented the torments as a sudden transition from extreme heat to extreme cold. But the vague speculations of Augustine, and the adventurous dogmas of Gregory, were soon authenticated by dreams and visions. In the dark ages there were many travellers to those subterranean regions, who inspected and reported the secrets of Purgatory. Take one report as an example, and that the mildest and the least offensive we can choose.

THE REGION OF PURGATORY.

"**Drithelm,** whose story is related by authorities no less than Bede and Bellarmine, was led on his journey by an angel in shining raiment, and proceeded in the company of his guide towards the rising sun. The travellers arrived at length in a valley of vast dimensions. This region, to the left, was covered with roasting furnaces, and, to the right, with icy cold hail and snow. The whole valley was filled with human souls, which a tempest seemed to toss in all directions. The unhappy spirits, unable in the one part to bear the violent heat, leaped into the shivering cold, which again drove them into the scorching flames which cannot be quenched. A numberless multitude of deformed souls were in this manner whirled about and tormented, without intermission, in the extremes of alternate heat and cold. This, according to the angelic conductor who piloted Drithelm, is the place of chastisement for such as defer confession and amendment till the hour of death. All these, however, will at the last day be admitted to Heaven; while many, through alms, vigils, prayers, and especially the Mass, will be liberated even before the general judgment." * Any one may see at a glance the intention

* Edgar's "Variations of Popery," p. 455.

of this vision. It is skilfully drawn up, so as to act powerfully on the fears of the serious, to increase the power of the priesthood, and to secure large legacies for the Church.

And is this the place, we may ask, to which Holy Mother Church sends her pious and penitent children ? Yes ; and it is only the justified that go there. Those who die under the guilt of mortal sins go straight to Hell, over the gloomy gates of which is written, "There is no hope." How dreadful the thought of Purgatory must always be to every devout mind !

As an illustration of this, we may mention that we happen to know at this moment a young lady who has lately embraced the Catholic religion, or, as the term is, "gone over to Rome." She is rigidly devoted to the Church, fresh in her first love, but evidently winces at the thought of Purgatory. "I believe I shall go there," she will say ; "I hope to go, for as I cannot pretend to be good enough to go straight to Heaven when I die, I must pass through Purgatory ; but I may not be more than five hundred years there." There is no doubt of her being a true Christian, and justified from all things ; but such is the blinding power of Satan through the Papal system. We can only rejoice that ere long they will be happily undeceived, according to many portions of the Word of God, such as, "Giving thanks unto the Father, which hath made us meet to be partakers of the inheritance of the saints in light."..."Absent from the body, present with the Lord."..."*To-day* shalt thou be with Me in Paradise."..."Having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ ; which is far better."..."The beggar died, and was carried by the angels into Abraham's bosom."..."Thy sins, which were many, are forgiven" (Col. 1 ; 2 Cor. 5 ; Luke 23 ; Phil. 1 ; Luke 16., 7).

It is perfectly plain from these passages, and many others that might be quoted, that the same moment the soul of the believer leaves the body it is present with the Lord in the Paradise of God—surely the happiest place in all Heaven. What then can be the object of the Romish Church so to pervert Scripture—so to deny the efficacy of the blood of Christ, which is said to cleanse the believer from all sin ? To answer this question, the mind must comprehend and grapple with the very depths of Satan.

THE USES MADE OF PURGATORY.

Historically, the use which has been made of this Satanic superstition by the Romish priesthood has been to act upon the fears and affections of mankind. What would the young lady referred to above, or her fond parents, not give to save her five hundred years' torment in that dreadful abode ? Praying souls out of Purgatory, by Masses said on their behalf, became a source

of untold treasure to the Church. With a rich man dying, who could not take his wealth with him and who dreaded the torments of Purgatory, the priest could make his own terms. Besides out of this superstition arose the scandalous traffic in Papal indulgences to mitigate the pains of the middle passage.

But there is yet another point of wickedness connected with this dogma, which we wonder the heart of man or of Satan could ever have conceived, and that is the **priest's authority** *over his victim after he is dead and buried.* He makes the departing soul believe that it will still be dependent on his influence, his intervention ; that he has the key of Purgatory, and that his doom hangs upon the word from the priest's lips. Surely these are the depths of Satan. We tremble as we seek to penetrate them. But lies they all are ; and the most fearful blasphemy for any man to say that the keys of Heaven, Hell, and Purgatory have been entrusted to him.

" Fear not," said the blessed Lord to John, " I have the keys of Hell (Hades) and of death." He only has power and authority over the unseen world, but Scripture makes all plain to faith, that God " hath delivered us from the power of darkness, and hath translated into the Kingdom of His dear Son." Here it is plainly taught that the believer is not only pardoned and saved, but that he is *now* delivered from the whole realm of darkness, and *now* translated into the Kingdom of God's dear Son. The language need not be mistaken : " Who hath "—not who will, or who can—but " who hath." It is true now, and the truth is to be enjoyed now. There is no power but in the hands of the risen Lord, and no Purgatory but His precious blood, unless it be the washing of water by the Word also. " Purge me with hyssop, and I shall be clean ; wash me, and I shall be whiter than snow " (Rev. 1. 17, 18 ; Col. 1. 13 ; Psa. 51. 7 ; John 13., 15.; 1 John 5).

The Greek, Abyssinian, and Armenian Churches **reject the doctrine of Purgatory** in name, but hold it substantially. Prayers and Masses are said for the dead, and incense burned over the graves of the deceased.*

EXTREME UNCTION.

Like every false system, Popery is glaringly inconsistent with itself. Falsehood, the mother of lies, is written upon her forehead, though there may be many honest and godly hearts in her communion. How unlike the perfect unity of Divine truth ! Though written by so many different persons, on so many different subjects, under so many different circumstances, and in so many different places and ages of the world, yet we have a perfect whole. Who can fail to see the glories of the Cross, the riches of

* Gardner's " Faiths of the World," p. 721 ; Milman, vol. vi., p. 428.

Divine grace, the lost condition of the sinner, and his full salvation, all through Scripture ; for example, in Abel's lamb, Noah's ark, and in the cleansing of the leper ? But in passing from one sacrament to another of the Romish system we find the flattest contradictions. Thus it is with Purgatory and extreme unction. If the one be true, the other is evidently false. If there be any truth in extreme unction, Purgatory is a mere delusion. There can be no such place, and no need for such a place. The declared object, and the effect of the sacred oil, according to the Council of Trent, is to wipe away the remains of sins. The heretic who despises it must go straight to the depths of Hell. Thus it is administered.

"The priest, having entered the house, shall put over his surplice a violet-covered stole, and present the cross to the sick person, to be devoutly kissed. Prayers having been recited, and holy water sprinkled, the priest dips his thumb in the holy oil, and anoints the sick, in the form of the cross. Beginning with the sense of sight, he anoints each eye, saying, 'The Lord, through His holy unction, and His most gracious compassion, forgive thee whatever sins thou hast committed by seeing.' After this manner there are seven anointings, one for each of the five senses—eyes, ears, nose, mouth, hands, and the other two are the breast and feet." After many prayers and crossings, and the ceremony of burning the cloth which wiped the oil off the different parts of the anointed body and the priest's thumb, the dying man or woman is pronounced in a fit state to pass with safety to the port of eternal happiness.

This sacrament is never administered while there is any expectation of recovery to health. It is called **extreme** because it is the last to be administered. By means of this so-called infallible sacrament for the dying, one would naturally expect that Purgatory would receive very few subjects from the Church of Rome, so that it must be peopled by Protestants who despise the priestly ointment, or by those in the Romish communion who were disqualified to receive the sacrament. But there is great variety of opinion amongst Romanists on this subject.

Some think that every soul, without exception, from the Pope downwards, however saintly the life may have been, or however properly the last sacrament may have been administered, must pass through Purgatory—that no soul can pass direct from earth to Heaven. They argue that, as no man has complete control over his thoughts, foolish and even sinful thoughts may pass through his mind during the administration of extreme unction, or immediately after it ; therefore the soul must pass through the realm of Purgatory on its way to Heaven. Of course, the sin may be so small that the detention may be very short. But

even a Gregory or a Bernard must be purified by the fires of Purgatory.

Alas for the children of Rome ! we would exclaim ; they must all be the slaves of the Prince of Purgatory before they can taste the liberty and happiness of Heaven. How dreadful, how gloomy the thoughts of death must ever be ! How different from the thoughts and feelings of the great apostle, when he said, " For to me to live is Christ, and to die is gain." If he lived, he lived Christ ; he enjoyed the fullest and sweetest fellowship with Him ; if he died, he made a gain upon that..." Having a desire to depart, and to be with Christ, which is far better." Besides, the Word of God is positive as to all believers in Christ Jesus : " Absent from the body, present with the Lord " (Phil. 1. 21-23 ; 2 Cor. 5. 6).

The allusion in the New Testament to the ancient practice of **anointing** has given the Catholic writers great boldness in pressing the necessity of this sacrament. But they carefully overlook or conceal the fact that Scriptural anointing was for the miraculous healing of the body, and the lengthening of the days of the living. Romish unction is for the soul—a permanent sacrament for the conveyance of grace, the pardon of sin, the attainment of salvation in the hour of death. Apostolic unction was for the recovery of health ; extreme unction is the last preparation for death. " And they cast out many devils, and anointed with oil many that were sick, and healed them." " Is any sick among you ? let him call for the elders of the Church ; and let them pray over him, anointing him with oil in the Name of the Lord : and the prayer of faith shall save the sick, and the Lord shall raise him up " (Mark 6. 13 ; James 5. 14).

It is not difficult to see how superstition would use such passages for the accomplishment of its own ends ; but it is perfectly plain that the original anointing was used for the recovery of health in particular persons, and continued while the gift of healing and the power of working miracles remained, which probably scarce survived the apostolic age. And extreme unction, in its present form, was *unknown in the Church during the first eleven centuries of her history.* It was established during the reign of ignorance and priestcraft in the twelfth century, and ultimately received the stamp of the great seal of the Council of Trent.

AURICULAR CONFESSION.

The sacraments of the Church of Rome being considered necessary to spiritual life, and at the disposal of the priesthood, necessarily gave them enormous power. But none of its many sacraments tended to increase the influence of the priests, or to enslave and lower the morality of the people more than auricular **confession.** From the Emperor to the peasant the whole heart

of every man and woman belonging to the Church of Rome was laid open to the priest. No act, scarcely a thought, at least in the dark ages, was kept a secret from the father confessor. To conceal or disguise the truth was a sin to be punished with the most humiliating penance, or, it might be, with the pains of Hell for ever. Before a power so arbitrary, so irresponsible, so dreaded, who did not tremble ? The priests thus became a kind of spiritual police, to whom every man was bound to inform against himself. They knew the secrets of all persons, of all families, of all governments, of all societies, and, of course, how to rule and lay their plans so as to accomplish whatever they pleased. The conscience, the moral as well as the religious or spiritual being of man, were in their power. It was like the seal and consummation of all wickedness and blasphemy. Fathers and sons, mothers and daughters, masters and servants, were all under their secret, but real supervision and control.

The power thus gained in the confessional was exercised for the alleged good of the Church—sometimes on granting, delaying, or refusing absolution, as the case might be. All depended on the ends to be gained by the Church : the most selfish, cruel, and unprincipled use has often been made of information thus religiously given.

We refer especially to the long protracted cases of dispute and discipline, which never could be settled until the Church had gained the day. Excommunication was a real thing in those days, and the Pope a real antagonist. When Hildebrand thundered a sentence of excommunication against Henry, released his subjects from their oath of fealty, and pronounced him deprived of his throne, he found it a vain thing to fight against the Pope, though he was at that time the greatest sovereign in Europe. He was forced to yield ; and in the most degraded condition, barefoot, and shivering with cold, he humbly supplicated the inexorable monk to remove the censure of the Church and reinstate him on his throne. The awful sentence of excommunication cut the offender off, whatever his rank or station, and as salvation was considered an utter impossibility beyond the pale of the Romish Church, there was no hope for any one dying under this sentence. Even the body might be denied a resting-place in consecrated ground, but the soul would be the prey of demons for ever.

THE ORIGIN OF THE CONFESSIONAL.

The history of this innovation is not easily traced, neither is it necessary for our purpose. The question of private confession, and of priestly absolution, had often been discussed by the theologians, but no definite law on the subject was laid down by the Church till the beginning of the thirteenth century. In

the year 1215, under the pontificate of Innocent III, the practice of auricular confession was authoritatively enjoined by the fourth Council of Lateran upon the faithful of both sexes at least once a year. From that time down to the present day it has been considered a positive Divine ordinance in the Church of Rome. It is also practised in the Greek and Coptic Churches.

The principal passages of Scripture adduced by Romanists on this subject are : " Confess your faults one to another, and pray one for another, that ye may be healed." . . . " Whose soever sins ye remit, they are remitted unto them ; and whose soever sins ye retain, they are retained " (James 5. 16 ; John 20. 23). The first of these passages evidently refers to the mutual confession of faults on the part of Christians ; and the second to Church discipline ; but neither certainly to the secret confession of sins into the ear of a priest, with the view of receiving absolution. The duty, or privilege, of confession must be admitted by all, Protestants as well as Catholics ; but the question is, to whom ought we to confess ? To a priest or to God ? Numerous passages might be quoted, from both the Old and New Testaments, to prove that confession of sin is to be made to God. Take one from each. " And Joshua said unto Achan, My son, give, I pray thee, glory to the Lord God of Israel, and make confession unto Him, and tell me now what thou hast done ; hide it not from me." . . . " If we say that we have no sin, we deceive ourselves, and the truth is not in us. If we confess our sins, He is faithful and just to forgive us our sins, and to cleanse us from all unrighteousness " (Josh. 7. 19 ; 1 John 1. 8, 9).

But the **form of confession** prescribed by the Romish Church to be used by every penitent at the confessional will best show us its real character. He must kneel down at the side of his confessor, and make the sign of the Cross, saying, in the Name of the Father, and of the Son, and of the Holy Ghost, " I confess to Almighty God, to the blessed Mary, ever virgin, to blessed Michael the archangel, to blessed John the Baptist, to the holy Apostles Peter, and Paul, to all the saints, and to you, my ghostly father, that I have sinned exceedingly, in thought, word, and deed, through my fault, through my fault, through my most grievous fault." At this point of the ceremony the penitent specifies his several sins in their details, without evasion or equivocation ; the most indelicate or the most diabolical are poured into the ear of the priest, whatever he may be. We know what many of them have been. When the priest has satisfied himself with details, the penitent goes on : " Therefore I beseech the blessed Mary, ever virgin, the blessed Michael the archangel, blessed John Baptist, the holy Apostles Peter and Paul, and all the saints, and you, my ghostly father, to pray to our Lord God for me. I am heartily sorry, purpose amendment

for the future, and most humbly ask pardon of God, and penance and absolution of you, my ghostly father."*

The penitent is now in the hands, and entirely at the mercy of the priest. He may prescribe the most unreasonable penance, or delay his absolution until his own evil ends are gained. But there we must leave them, and briefly notice, under the head of Roman Theology, the kindred dogma of

INDULGENCES.

The system of Papal indulgences, which gradually rose to such heights and ultimately produced such effects, demands a careful though brief notice. It has ever been the practice of the evil genius of Rome to introduce by small beginnings the greatest evils that characterise her history. Imperceptibly, the thin end of the wedge is introduced by the presiding spirit of her policy, but when fairly introduced, the whole machinery of Rome is employed to drive it home. By an apparent respect for the memory of the dead, and a proper regard for the tokens of their affection, the sin of saint and relic worship was introduced, which resulted in the most positive and confirmed idolatry. And so with the whole system of indulgences. The ecclesiastical corruption, once admitted, remained, increased, and spread from age to age, until all Christendom was overrun with its wickedness, and the moral and religious sense of mankind so insulted by the infamous traffic in indulgences, that a protest was raised and the Reformation followed.

The chief feature in the new doctrine of indulgences was the discovery of a resource or treasury in the Church, by the application of which sins were remitted, without the painful or humiliating process of penance, and without the observance of the sacraments. It was alleged by the deep contriver of this sweeping dogma, that there was an infinite treasure of merit in Christ, the Virgin Mary, and the other saints, which was more than sufficient for themselves. Although the Saviour Himself was said to be the source of all merit, the merits of the saints were also much spoken of, and this gave rise to the new idea of work of **supererogation.** By their works of penance, and by their undeserved sufferings in this world, they had done more than was necessary for their own salvation ; and by these works of supererogation, with the superabundant merits of Christ, a treasury was formed, of which the Pope possessed the keys, and which he could apply for the relief of offenders, both in this life and in Purgatory. The power of the keys was thus substituted for the efficacy of the sacrament.

This is the Popish theory of indulgences, but its antiscriptural character betrays its author. It is glaringly antiscriptural, as

* Gardner's "Faiths of the World," vol. i., p. 582 ; Milman, vol. vi., p. 361.

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it promises remission of sins without repentance ; and, even on Catholic ground, its wickedness is manifest. It supersedes the penitential exercise of the individual ; it dissolves the whole discipline of the Church ; it offers for a sum of money the pardon of all sins committed, a license for sins to be committed ; it gives a written guarantee of deliverance from the pains of Purgatory, and from Hell itself. It encourages the most flagrant iniquity with the profession of Christianity ; indeed by this dogma morality was severed from religion. Could even Papal depravity go farther ? Men emboldened to let loose the reins of vice, to follow at large their own evil ways, and then purchase eternal forgiveness, without any conditions of repentance, for a piece of money ! What a day of reckoning awaits the Jezebel of Rome, and all the children of her seduction ! The Lord preserve His people from her seductions now !

History places the first formal indulgence issued by the Church of Rome in the early part of the eleventh century, but the system was brought into its fullest operation by the Crusades. Pope Urban II, at Clermont, in the year 1095, proclaimed a plenary indulgence and remission of sins for all who should share in the Holy War. It became customary after this period to grant indulgences of lesser degrees. Absolution from a hundred years or more of Purgatorial pain might be purchased from a bishop, by repairing or enlarging a Church, by building a bridge, or enclosing his forest ; and also for extra religious duties, such as reciting a certain number of prayers before a certain altar, pilgrimages to relics, and the like. The Pope, according to the theory of the Vatican, is the sovereign dispenser of the Church's treasury, and this power he dispenses to bishops in their respective dioceses. The Pope may grant indulgences to all Christians ; the bishop's power is limited to his own diocese.

HISTORY OF INDULGENCES.

Thus the system of indulgences prevailed more and more extensively as time advanced ; and although, in consequence of its glaring abuses, some of the ablest of the schoolmen did not hesitate to express their objections to the trade that was carried on in the sale of indulgences, others wrote in its favour, and men generally were unwilling to suffer a long course of severe penance, of unpleasant austerities, when they could obtain immediate absolution by **pecuniary payments,** or so much almsgiving to Churches or churchmen. From the earliest period it was the practice of the Church of Rome to impose painful works or sufferings on offenders ; then these were discharged or undergone with humility, they were called *satisfactions* ; but when the penance was shortened or entirely remitted because of some consideration in money or good works, this was called an *indulgence.* The

price was regulated according to the nature of the crime and the circumstances of the purchaser.

The following curious event, as quoted by Milner from Burnet, will give the reader a better idea of the extent of this remarkable trade than anything we could say on the subject, and this happened at a time when, owing to the Reformation, the sale to a great extent had decreased. "Burnet informs us, that the scandalous sale of pardons and indulgences had by no means so completely ceased in Popish countries as is commonly taken for granted. He says, that in Spain and Portugal there is everywhere a commissary, who manages the sale with the most infamous circumstances imaginable. In Spain the King, by an agreement with the Pope, has the profits. In Portugal the King and the Pope go shares.

"In the year 1709 the privateers of Bristol took a gallion, in which they found five hundred bales of **bulls**—or printed pardon in the name of the Pope—for indulgences—and sixteen reams were in a bale; so that they reckon the whole came to three millions eight hundred and forty thousand. These bulls are imposed on the people and sold, the lowest at three ryals, a little more than twenty pence, but some were as high as about eleven pounds of our money. All are obliged to buy them against Lent. Besides the account given of this in the cruising voyage, I have a particular attestation of it by Captain Dampier."*

But the reader will be better prepared for this almost incredible statement if we are spared to continue our history to the period of its occurrence. In the meantime enough has been said to give him a correct idea of the foundation, character, and effects of the traffic. The sacrament of matrimony will come so fully before us in its workings, that we need not now give it a separate paper. So we shall leave for the present the painfully interesting subject of Roman theology, or alas! alas! Papal Christianity, and return to our general history.†

* Milner, vol. iii., p. 439.

† For full details by Catholic writers on the sacraments, see Paul's "Council of Trent," Donovan's "Catechism of the Council of Trent," Milner's "End of Controversy;" and for rather sharp criticisms on these doctrines, see Edgar's "Variations of Popery;" as also the general histories.

CHAPTER XXIV

Innocent III and his Times

A.D. 1198-1216.

DURING the reign of this great Pope the Roman See rose to its utmost height. The thirteenth century is commonly distinguished as the noonday of **Pontifical glory.** We have seen the dawn of Papal assumption, or rather the first streaks of dawn, in the bold conceptions of Innocent I and Leo the Great in the fifth century. Gregory the Great in the seventh, and Nicholas and John in the ninth centuries, did much towards laying the foundations of the great Papal scheme ; but it was Gregory VII that raised the superstructure. The one grand object of this bold, ambitious, unscrupulous priest, was to restore to Papal Rome all that Imperial Rome had lost ; and thus to set the chair of Peter above all other thrones. But the daring Pope perished in the desperate struggle. Rome was taken, as we have seen ; Hildebrand was compelled to flee, and died in exile at Salerno. For more than a hundred years after his death no Pope filled the chair who could complete the work which he had begun. But in the beginning of the thirteenth century the superior genius of Gregory was surpassed by Innocent. The bold schemes which the former had planned were fully executed by the latter. No doubt the conjunction of many circumstances was favourable, and the powers of his mind were adapted to the accomplishment of his grand object ; so that he fully obtained what had haunted the imagination of Popes for ages—" sacerdotal supremacy, regal monarchy, and dominion over the kings of the earth." The crowned priest of Rome now moved with a masterly hand, and with unwearied application, the whole machinery of Popery, that he might maintain and consolidate the absolute sovereignty of the Roman See. But here, on this summit, we must pause a little for reflection. Let us endeavour to ascertain the mind of God on this great religious system, not merely the testimony of history.

THE BABYLON OF REVELATION XVII.

It has been our desire from the commencement of this work, to study history from *a Scriptural point of view* ; but more especially in the light of the epistles to the seven Apocalyptic Churches The evils which were only budding then are now full-blown. In Pergamos, we have Balaam teaching " to commit fornication ; "

and in Thyatira, we have Jezebel introduced, who imposed idolatry by force. But these and many other evils we shall now find concentrated in the cup of the false **woman of Revelation 17**.

There can be no question, we think as to what is meant by the symbol here used. Not only a woman, but a licentious woman, and enthroned amidst the corruptions of the seven-hilled city. "And here is the mind that hath wisdom. The seven heads are seven mountains, on which the woman sitteth." Here we have a material point—that which has always characterised Rome, both in prose and poetry; as one has said, speaking of Arnold of Brescia: "In the service of freedom, his eloquence thundered over the seven hills." Every reader knows what city the historian means by this description. But the Word of God is perfectly plain to "the mind that hath wisdom." Rome is clearly indicated, and her religious corruptions are symbolised by "the mother of harlots." But why, it may be asked, is she called Babylon? The term is applied *figuratively*, we believe, just as Sodom and Egypt are applied to Jerusalem. "And their dead bodies shall lie in the street of the great city, which spiritually is called Sodom and Egypt, where also our Lord was crucified" (Rev. 11. 8). Besides, the literal Babylonian, the Chaldean capital, was built upon a plain—the plain of Shinar.

These points being fairly disposed of, and Rome fully identified, we accept Revelation 17, 18, as descriptive of the Papacy. The character, conduct, relationships, and final judgment of this spiritual Babylon, are here set before us, not by the partial or imperfect pen of history, but by the Spirit of Truth who sees the end from the beginning. The Papal system as a whole is looked at morally from God's point of view. This is an immense point gained to the man of faith. We will now briefly examine some of its more prominent features.

1. SHE IS SEEN IN VISION AS "SEATED UPON MANY WATERS." This is explained by the angel in verse 15 to mean, "Peoples, and multitudes, and nations, and tongues." The figure implies that this false woman, or the corrupt religious system of Rome, exercises a soul-ruining influence over all these multitudes, nations, and tongues. But God sees it all—marks it all: her evil history is written in Heaven.

2. SHE IS REPRESENTED AS HAVING INTERCOURSE OF THE MOST SEDUCTIVE, LICENTIOUS CHARACTER WITH ALL CLASSES." "With whom the kings of the earth have committed fornication, and the inhabitants of the earth have been made drunk with the wine of her fornication." What a state of things for that which professedly bears the fair name of Christ! The term "**fornication,**" as here used, means, we have no doubt, the seducing power of the Romish system in drawing away the affections from Christ, who is the only true object of faith for the heart. The

priest comes in between the heart and the blessed Lord ; the Bible is concealed ; the mind of God is unknown ; the people are intoxicated with her exciting falsehoods ; and worship they know not what. The whole earth is corrupted with the wine of her fornication. But her end, her fearful end, speedily draws near, " For her sins have reached unto Heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works : in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double."

3. SHE IS NEXT SEEN AS RULING AND DIRECTING THE CIVIL POWER. " And I saw a woman sit upon a scarlet-coloured beast, full of names of blasphemy, having seven heads, and ten horns." Whether it be the resuscitated Roman Empire (Rev. 13), or the different kingdoms which arose from the ruins of its imperial unity, or all governments and principalities of the earth, the woman swayed her sceptre, or rather her blood-stained sword, over them all as her divinely given domain. The purple of the Caesars was claimed by the Popes, the imperial eagles were exchanged for the cross-keys, and his Holiness proclaimed a **universal monarch.** And this new mistress of the world was not so in name only. She clothed with new power her ancient name. Rome imperial never inspired such terrors by its arms, as Rome Papal by her anathemas. " Christendom," as one has said, " through all its extended realms of mental and moral darkness, trembled while the Pontiff fulminated excommunications. Monarchs quaked on their thrones at the terror of Papal despotism, and crouched before his spiritual power like the meanest slave. The clergy considered the Pope as the fountain of their subordinate authority, and the way to future promotion. The people, immersed in gross ignorance and superstition, viewed his supremacy as a terrestrial deity, who wielded the temporal and eternal destinies of man. The wealth of nations flowed into the sacred treasury, and enabled the successor of the Galilean fisherman and head of the Christian commonwealth, to rival the splendour of Eastern pomp and grandeur."* The *extent* of her dominions, too, far exceeded the widest conquests of the Empire. Many nations that had escaped the iron grasp of Rome Imperial were held beneath the yoke of Rome Papal. This we have seen in our history of the religious wars of Charlemagne. Some have reckoned them as Ireland, the North of Scotland, Sweden, Denmark, Norway, Prussia, Poland, Bohemia, Moravia, Austria, Hungary, with a considerable part of Germany. These, we are told, were gathered as sheep into the fold of the shepherd of Rome by such missionaries as Boniface ; but in God's account they were enslaved by the tyranny and usurpation of the great corruptress.

4. BUT THERE IS MORE THAN HER SITTING BY THE MANY WATERS

* Edgar's " Variations of Popery," p. 157.

AND SITTING ON THE BEAST. SHE IS FULL OF IDOLATRIES AND THE UNCLEANNESS OF HER FORNICATION. "And the woman was arrayed in purple and scarlet colour, and decked with gold and precious stones and pearls, having a golden cup in her hand full of the abominations and filthiness of her fornication." In spite of all her outward glory—that which the world counts precious and beautiful, she is in God's sight as a licentious woman with a gorgeous cup full of all abominations. We have already seen her tenacious love of images, which is here referred to by the term "abominations."

5. HER GREAT, FLAUNTING, AND EXCLUSIVE PRETENSIONS TO THE TRUTH OF GOD. "And upon her forehead is a name written, Mystery, Babylon the Great, the Mother of harlots and abominations of the earth." This is the gravest and weightiest of Rome's sins; the awful counterfeit of Satan, and the basest of all her hypocrises. Of the true, the heavenly mystery we thus read, "This is a great mystery," says Paul, "but I speak concerning Christ and the Church" (Eph. 5. 32). But in place of subjection to Christ and faithfulness to Him, she—like an abandoned, shameless woman—corrupts by her foul embrace the great ones of the earth. Nor is this all. She is a mother—the mother of harlots; she has many daughters. Every religious system in Christendom, that tends in any measure to lead souls away from Christ, to engage their affections with objects that come between the heart and the Man in the glory, is related to this great parent of spiritual iniquity.

6. HER INSATIABLE THIRST FOR THE BLOOD OF GOD'S SAINTS. "And I saw the woman drunken with the blood of the saints, and with the blood of the martyrs of Jesus: and when I saw her, I wondered with great admiration." This strange sight—a woman—a religious community, professing to be the true spouse of Christ, drunken with the blood of the martyrs, the saints of God, fills the mind of the apostle with great amazement. Nor need we wonder. But we shall soon have to see this strange sight, not in vision only, but in unprecedented reality. Innocent III was the man who declared war on the peasants of the south of France, and turned the sword of the notorious Simon de Montfort against the well-known Albigenses and Waldenses, and that under the pretence of doing the will of Christ, and acting by His authority.

From verse 7, we have the explanation which the angel gives of the vision, and the awful doom of Babylon from the hand of both man and God, down to the close of chapter 18. But as we are not interpreting, we need not pursue the solemn theme of these chapters any farther. We can now tread in the dark blood-stained footsteps of the historian in the light of holy Scripture.*

* For full details see "Lectures on the Apocalypse," by W.K.

INNOCENT AND THE KINGS OF THE EARTH.

The different features or characteristics of Babylon which the Spirit of God has distinctly shown us in these chapters, and which are most hateful to Him, we shall find most fully displayed in the history of this Pontiff.

Lothario de' Conti was the original name of Innocent. He was of the house of the Counts of Segni, one of the great Roman families. Under the tuition of his two uncles, the Cardinals of St. Sergius and St. Paul, the great natural abilities of Lothario gave promise of that kind of distinction which his friends and relatives most desired. He afterwards acquired great fame for learning in the schools of Rome, Bologna, and Paris ; but canon law was his favourite study. At the death of Celestine III he was duly elected to the vacant chair, and consecrated February 22, 1198, at the early age of thirty-seven. The cardinals saluted him by the name of Innocent in testimony of his blameless life.

INNOCENT'S VIEWS OF THE POPEDOM.

A few extracts from the inauguration sermon, and other writings of Innocent will give the reader the best idea of Popish, or Babylonish pretensions. The unmeasured assertion of his dignity, with the loudest protestations of humility, betrays the real spirit of the Pope. Thus he spoke out : " Ye see what manner of servant that is whom the Lord hath set over His people ; no other than the vicegerent of Christ, the successor of St. Peter. He is the Lord's anointed ; he stands in the midst between God and man ; below God, above man ; less than God, more than man. He judges all, he is judged by none, for it is written, ' I will judge.' But he whom the pre-eminence of dignity exalts is lowered by his office of a servant that so humility may be exalted, and pride abased ; for God is against the high-minded; and to the lowly He showeth mercy : and he who exalteth himself shall be abased." He also discovers the Popedom in the Book of Genesis. " The firmament," he says, " signifies the Church. As the Creator of all things hath set in the Heavens two great lights, the greater to rule the day, the lesser to rule the night, so also hath He set up in the firmament of His Church two great powers : the greater to rule the souls, the lesser to rule the bodies of men. These powers are the Pontifical and the royal. But the moon, as being the lesser body, borroweth all her light from the sun ; she is inferior to the sun both in the quantity and quality of the light she sends forth, as also in her position and functions in the heavens. In like manner *the royal power borrows all its dignity and splendour from the Pontifical*, so that the nearer it approaches the greater light, the more are its rays absorbed, and its borrowed glories eclipsed. It was, morover, ordained that both these glories should have their fixed and final abode

in this our land of Italy, inasmuch as in this land dwelleth, by and through the *combined primacy of the Empire and the priesthood*, the entire foundation and structure of the Christian faith, and with it a predominant principality over both ! " *

INNOCENT AND THE CITY OF ROME.

Like a wise man, he commenced his great life-work by reforming his own household. Rigid simplicity was established in the place of courtly luxury. The multitude of nobles and high-born pages who lately thronged the palace were dismissed, but with handsome presents which retained them as friends, and secured their services on occasions of high ceremony. The citizens, who were clamorous for the donative with which they had been usually gratified at the commencement of every new reign, he did not forget, and thus secured the favour of the multitude. He combined with the boldness of Gregory VII the politic caution and patience of Alexander III. He knew the Romans and how to manage them. They have the worst character of any people in history. Hear the evidence of Bernard in writing to the Pope : " Why should I mention the people ? The people is Roman. I have no shorter nor have I any clearer term to express my opinion of your parishioners. For what is so notorious to all men and ages as the wantonness and haughtiness of the Romans ? A race unaccustomed to peace, habituated to tumult—a race merciless and untractable, and to this instant scorning all subjection, when it has any means of existence... Whom will you find even in the vast extent of your city who would have you for Pope, unless for profit or the hope of profit ? the promise of fidelity, to have the better means of injuring those who trust them ? They are men too proud to obey, too ignorant to rule, faithless to superiors, insupportable to inferiors ; shameless in asking, insolent in refusing ; importunate to obtain favours, restless while obtaining them, ungrateful when they have obtained ; grand, eloquent, and inefficient ; most profuse in promise, most niggardly in performance ; the smoothest flatterers, the most venomous detractors. Among such as these you are proceeding as their pastor, covered with gold and every variety of splendour. What are your sheep looking for ? If I dared to use the expression, I should say that it is a pasture of demons rather than ' sheep.' " †

Such, as witnessed by the highest authority, was the character of the people whom the new shepherd of Rome had around his person, and whom he had to watch over. But his mind was not to be dismayed, even by the exhaustive style of Bernard ; with great energy, prudence, and skill, he began his successful reign.

* " Cathedra Petri," book xiii., p. 363. † Waddington, vol. ii., p. 158.

Next to the affairs of his own household, those of the city had his immediate attention. His first object was to abolish the last vestige of **imperial sovereignty** in Rome. This was a bold step, but he had smoothed his way by silently and skilfully distributing money throughout the thirteen quarters of the city. Hitherto the prefect of Rome had held his office under the Emperor, he was the representative of the imperial authority. But Innocent influenced him to reject the imperial and submit entirely to the Papal power. He took from his hand the secular sword, the ancient emblem of his power, and substituted a silver cup in its place, as the symbol of peace and friendship. He absolved him from his oath of allegiance to the German Emperors, compelled him to take a strong oath of fidelity to himself, and to receive investiture from his hands. Thus was the last link broken of the imperial power in Rome.

In like manner the new Pope persuaded the senator, or representative of the legislature, to resign, in order that he might substitute another in his place, whom he bound by an oath to himself as sovereign. The judges, officers, and all the citizens were required to swear obedience to his spiritual majesty, and acknowledge the exclusive sovereignty of the Holy See.

INNOCENT AND THE KINGDOM OF SICILY.

But the imperial city, at this moment, was surrounded by many dangerous neighbours. How to rid himself of these was now the first and important question with Innocent. The fairest provinces of central and southern Italy, even up to the gates of Rome, and the kingdom of Sicily, were under the galling yoke of fierce German adventurers. It happened in this way.

Henry VI, Emperor of Germany, surnamed the Severe, in the year 1186 married Constantia, legitimate heir to the crown of Sicily, with the lordship of all the Norman provinces in southern Italy. The evident advantage of this union to the Emperor, and the equally evident danger to the Papacy, alarmed the reigning Pontiff, Lucius III, and led him to take steps to prevent the marriage, but dying suddenly, nothing was accomplished. His successor, Urban III, also failed to break the engagement, and the marriage was celebrated on the 27th of January, 1186. But as usual, a pretender to the crown of Sicily was found and supported by the Papacy, which led to a cruel and desolating war of several years' duration. Henry invaded the Italian territories for the avowed purpose of putting himself in possession of his wife's inheritance. The expedition was completely successful. Province after province fell into his hands, and in a short time the whole of southern Italy and the kingdom of Sicily submitted to the merciless tyrant, the treacherous husband of Constantia. Before leaving the conquered terri-

tories, says Greenwood, "All the great military commands were bestowed on the most distinguished officers of his army. Castles, lands, revenues, powers of the largest and most indefinite kind were showered upon the mob of adventurers and mercenaries, whose only object was plunder, and whose rapacity was unchecked by the remotest regard for the rights or the welfare of those whom they were appointed to govern."

Philip, Henry's brother, **Duke of Swabia,** was intrusted with the government of Central Italy, including the estates of the Countess Matilda, and the Duchy of Tuscany. Markwald, a knight of Alsace, the Emperor's favourite, was made Duke of Ravenna and Romagna. Conrad of Lutzenburg, a Swabian knight, as Duke of Spoleto, possessed that city and its domain. Thus were the Pontifical states enclosed by a hostile chain of fortresses on all sides. Communication with the outer world was well nigh cut off. But the master-hand that was required to direct and control the different garrisons was suddenly withdrawn.

Henry died at Messina, on the 28th of September, 1197, rather more than three months before the accession of Innocent.*

We have thus rapidly referred to the military occupation of the country when Innocent took into his hands the reins of government. For fuller details the general histories may be consulted. But as our object in this chapter is to show how completely the ecclesiastical power triumphed over the civil, we have felt it necessary to show the strong position of the latter. And now the problem is to be solved. How can a single man, by a single word, overthrow the physical force of the Empire, and compel both prince and people to submit to a spiritual despotism? The unseen power, we doubt not, is from beneath. The blending of the *lamb and the dragon*, or the man of sin, in one power, or system, proves its origin (Rev. 13. 11-18).

INNOCENT AND THE STATES OF THE CHURCH.

The death of Henry, the jealousies and rivalries of the German chiefs, the exasperated state of the Italians, prepared the way for the full exercise of Innocent's great powers of administration. The cruelties of the Emperor Henry to his Italian subjects had ripened the whole country for revolt. They only awaited a deliverer from the German yoke. That deliverer was Innocent. He summoned **Markwald,** the most formidable of imperial lieutenants in command, to surrender to Peter all the estates of the Church. Markwald paused. Though he was a bold and ambitious man, and possessed of great wealth and power he wished to avoid an open contest with the Pope. He was conscious of his danger from the people's hatred of the foreign yoke;

* "Cathedra Petri," book xiii., chapter i., p. 339.

and endeavoured to draw him into an alliance with many fair promises of great service to the Church. But the Pope was firm, and withstood all his offers whether of money or of service. He demanded the immediate unconditional surrender of all the territories of the Church. Markwald refused. The people rose to assert the Papal claims. The war began. The German banners were torn down ; city after city rose in rebellion, and cast to the ground everything German. Markwald, insulted and burning with rage, "revenged himself by sallying forth from the gates of Ravenna, ravaging the whole region, burning, plundering, destroying homesteads and harvests, castles and churches. Innocent opened the Papal treasures, borrowed large sums of money, raised an army ; hurled an excommunication against the rebellious vassal of the Church, in which he absolved from their oath all who had sworn allegiance to Markwald." *

The fall of Markwald filled the others with consternation. They proposed terms of peace and offered to pay tribute, but Innocent would agree to no compromise. He claimed possession of the patrimonial domains without reserve, declaring himself heir to the Countess Matilda's donation, and sovereign of the Duchy of Tuscany. But no event, consequent on the decease of the Emperor was more important to the Papacy than the faithless conduct of the Empress Constantia. Immediately after the death of her husband, though left the natural guardian of the realm, she separated herself from the German cause, and returned to Sicily with her infant son Frederick. She espoused the interest of her native land, threw herself and her son into the arms of the Holy See, caused him to be crowned in Palermo, and requested the Pontifical investiture of the kingdon for her son as a fief of the Papal See. Innocent saw his own strength, her weakness, and made his own terms. The Empress and her son were required to acknowledge the absolute feudal superiority of the Pope over the whole kingdom of Naples and Sicily, and pay a large annual tribute. The German warriors were compelled to retire to the castles on the mainland ; but only to brood over their present defeat and their future revenge.

The **Conquests of Innocent** had been rapid and were apparently complete. In less than one year after his accession to the Papal throne he was virtually king of Sicily, and master of his own large territories. By means of his legates, he made his presence to be felt, and enforced obedience throughout his newly acquired dominions. But, as ever, the beast on which the woman rode became most refractory. The territories, forts, citadels, and revenues that had been recovered from the Germans were claimed by the Papal See as her possessions. But as these demands were both unjust and illegal, resistance on the part of the citizens and the

* Milman, vol. iv., p. 19.

imperial governors was the natural consequence, and for years Sicily and her provinces was a scene of anarchy, violence, bloodshed, and ceaseless intrigues. And yet, at this very moment, Innocent reminded those cities which objected to surrender to him the full benefit of their hard-won deliverance, of the awful nature of the power they dared to oppose. Their lack of confidence in him was a crime against the Lord Jesus Himself, whose successor he was, "one in whom there was no sin at all, neither was any deceit found in his mouth." Could blasphemy be more daring, more barefaced? Could there be a more wicked attempt to unite the dragon and the lamb?

INNOCENT AND THE EMPIRE.

Before the close of the eventful year over which we have been travelling, Constantia, the Sicilian princess and the German Empress, died. On the 27th of November, 1198, she breathed her last. Her death, it is supposed, was hastened by her maternal solicitude for her infant son, Frederick. He was then about four years old, had been crowned King of Sicily, and was heir of the Empire. In her last will she bequeathed him to the guardianship of the Pope as his liege lord, and provided that thirty thousand pieces of gold should be paid yearly to the Pope for his pious protection of her son, and that all his other expenses were to be charged on the revenue of the country.

But the tranquillity of Rome was not secured by its great successes. The civil war, with all its horrors, was renewed. The Pontiff lost no time in making known, in loftiest phrase, to the nobles of Sicily his accession to the government as regent, and commissioned his legate to administer the oath of allegiance. Markwald, in the meantime, hearing of the death of the Empress, resumed the title of Seneschal of the Empire, and, by a document which professed to be a will of the late Emperor, laid claim to the regency of Sicily during the minority of the young king. In support of these claims he had assembled a large force of adventurers, besieged and obtained possession of the Papal city, Germano, and had almost become master of the great monastery of Monte Casino, which was defended for eight days by a garrison of the Pope; but a fresh supply of troops and provisions from Rome strengthened the position of the warrior monks, and compelled the great duke to raise the siege. According to the best authorities, Innocent now assumed the most warlike attitude. He issued a proclamation, summoning the whole realm of Naples and Sicily to arms. He assembled troops from Lombardy, Tuscany, Romagna, and Campania, paying them from the Papal treasury. Markwald and all his accomplices were excommunicated in the most solemn manner every Sunday, with quenched candles and tolling bells—bell, book, and candle. The whole

kingdom was ravaged, laid waste, and distracted by the armies of the Pope and the soldiers of the Empire. But the death of the rebel chief, Markwald, in the year 1202, relieved the Pope of his most powerful and most successful antagonist.

We now turn for a little to observe the working of that same powerful mind in the complicated affairs of the Empire.

An infant Emperor, now an orphan ; a vacant throne, fiercely contested by rival princes ; opened up a still wider field for **Papal ambition.**

The immediate object of Innocent's policy was to separate the kingdom of Sicily from the Empire. While both remained in the same hands a sovereign more powerful than himself might be placed on the Sicilian throne. The possibility of a neighbour so dangerous must be removed. The contest then raging for the possession of the crown gave him the desired opportunity. The troops, being required at home, were withdrawn from Sicily, Apulia, and Capu. The garrisons being thus reduced, the German dominion was overthrown, the countries separated from the Empire, and the Papal authority established by force.

Immediately after the death of Henry, his brother, Philip, Duke of Swabia, took possession of the imperial treasures, declared himself regent of the realm, and protector of the interests of his young nephew. And so far he seems to have acted from a right motive. But an infant Emperor was contrary to German usage, and unsuited to those troublous times. An adverse party speedily arose, and strongly opposed the election of the child as king. The adherents of the house of **Hohenstaufen** entreated Philip to become the representative of his family, in opposition to the other candidates for the crown. He consented, and was chosen defender of the kingdom by a large body of princes and prelates assembled at Mülhausen.

The party opposed to the Swabian family was headed by Adolphus of Altena, Archbishop of Cologne. This faction was chiefly composed of the great prelates of the Rhine. Such was the principal occupation of prelates and clergy in those days. They were determined to raise up an antagonist to the house of Hohenstaufen. After several princes had refused to become candidates for the imperial dignity, the churchmen turned their thoughts to the house of **Saxony,** the irreconcilable adversary of the house of Swabia. Their choice fell on Otho, the second son of Henry the Lion, Duke of Saxony.

In consequence of his father's family having fallen under the ban of the Empire, and being banished from Germany, he was brought up at the court of England. His mother, Matilda, was sister to King Richard Cœur de Lion. The young knight had shown signs of valour such as Richard admired, and he created Otho first Count of York and Poitou. Well furnished

with English gold, and a few followers, he set forth, reached Cologne, where he was proclaimed Emperor, and champion of the Church.

PHILIP AND OTHO.

Philip was twenty-two years of age, Otho twenty-three. "In personal character," says the chroniclers, "in wealth, and in the number of his adherents, Philip had the advantage. He was praised for his moderation and his love of justice. His mind had been cultivated by literature to a degree then very unusual among princes, and his popular manners contrasted favourably with the pride and roughness of Otho. But Otho was the favourite with the great body of the clergy, to whom Philip was obnoxious, as the representative of a family which was regarded as opposed to the interests of the hierarchy." *

But what, the reader may be supposed to inquire—what of the young Frederick who had been crowned and anointed, and to whom both princes and prelates had sworn allegiance, and over whose rights the Pope was handsomely paid to keep watch and ward? The only answer to this inquiry is to be found in the secret but perfidious policy of Innocent. His one grand object in allowing, if not in creating, this great national quarrel for the imperial crown, was the humbling of the haughty house of Swabia, and every subordinate consideration must be sacrificed to the limitation of that power. But the elastic conscience of the Papacy never was at a loss for an apparently pious reason for the perpetration of the greatest wickedness, or the most faithless and treacherous conduct. Innocent could not deny, and therefore makes a show of lofty equity in admitting, the claims of Frederick. This was the dragon's voice. He admits the lawfulness of his election, and the oath of allegiance taken by the nobles of the Empire. But, on the other hand, he discovers that the oath was exacted by the father before the child was a Christian by baptism. He decreed that a child of two years old, unbaptised, was a *nullity*; therefore their oaths were null and void, and all obligation to the young heir was entirely set aside.

What a character, we may exclaim, for posterity to contemplate! He who assumed to be "the representative of God's eternal and immutable justice upon earth, absolutely above all passion or interest," now absolves the whole constituency of Germany from the most solemn oath of fealty to the legitimate heir of the kingdom. In place of maintaining the rights of his ward—to whom he wrote when he accepted the charge, "that though God had visited him by the death of his father and mother, he had provided him with a more worthy father—His own vicar on earth; and a better mother, the Church"—

* J. C. Robertson, vol. iii., p. 292.

rebuking the rival parties, and persuading them to peace; we see him fomenting the animosities of both, we see justice, truth, righteousness, peace, and every claim of humanity, all wantonly sacrificed, in the hope of increasing and consolidating the Papal power. The **crafty Pope** kept behind the scene, but stirred up and fed the flame of contention, knowing that both parties would be compelled, from the loss of blood and treasure, to lay their cause at his feet, and then he could come forward as the sovereign director of kings, and dictate his own terms. These convictions are fully borne out by the following judgment of Dean Milman: "Ten years of strife and civil war in Germany are to be traced, if not to the direct instigation, to the inflexible obstinacy of Pope Innocent III." *

THE CIVIL WAR IN GERMANY.

Richard, King of England, and **Philip Augustus,** King of France—who warmly espoused the cause of Philip—spared no amount of flatteries and professions to win over the Pope to the party of their respective candidates. But he delayed, having too many objects in view to be straightforward. In the meantime war broke out along the Rhine. Philip, at the first, gained great advantages; he advanced almost to the gates of Cologne; but a powerful army of Rhenish prelates and Flemish nobles caused him to retreat. The largest and most powerful part of the Empire acknowledged and supported the cause of Philip; the clergy and the Count of Flanders stood almost alone on the side of Otho.

It was a civil war of the most ferocious and barbarous lawlessness. At the end of the first year fortune favoured the cause of Philip. The death of Richard, in 1199, had deprived Otho of his most powerful ally. John, who succeeded him, was not disposed to part with his money for such a distant and uncertain game. The war might now have terminated with a fair show of honour, even to Otho; but Papal vengeance against the hated house of Hohenstaufen was not yet full. The Pope openly avowed the cause of the usurper, Otho; and for nine long dreary years, with but short intervals of truce, Germany was abandoned by the tender shepherd of the Tiber to all the horrors of a civil war. But the deceitful underhand policy of Innocent became apparent to all. His suffering flock accused and reproached him as the guilty cause of all their misery, as having provoked, inflamed, and kept up the disastrous strife, for the gratification of his own malicious purpose of ruining the royal house of Henry the Severe. It required all his wits, with the help of Satan, to acquit himself of the charge.

But the war had done its work—its dragon work. "It was a

* "Latin Christianity," vol. iv., p. 33.

war, not of decisive battles, but of marauding, desolation, havoc, plunder, wasting of harvests, ravaging open and defenceless countries—war, waged by prelate against prelate, by prince against prince; wild Bohemians and bandits, soldiers of every race were roving through every province. Throughout the land there was no law; the roads were impassable on account of robbers; nothing was spared, nothing sacred, church or cloister." Such, and worse, was the civil war in Germany. Yet the unrelenting mind of the wretched man continued to thunder his anathemas against Philip; declared all oaths which had been taken to him null and void, and showered privileges and immunities of all sorts on the bishops and the monastic societies who espoused the party of Otho. But the thunders of the Vatican became unavailing, and the strength of Philip increased year by year.*

The course of events could not fail to tell even on the inflexible mind of Innocent. He was threatened with the humiliation of a total defeat. At the close of ten years the cause of Otho was hopeless. But how can the Pope forget his vows of implacable enmity against the house of Swabia, or struggle out of his vows of perpetual alliance with the house of Saxony? He must find some holy and pious reasons for abandoning the cause of Otho, and espousing the cause of Philip. He found great difficulty in covering the shame of this debasing position. But Philip made such ample professions and promises to the Pope by his ambassadors, that he saw it to be his duty to receive back his penitent son, and absolve him from the censures of the Church. The Papal legate proceeded to **Metz,** and there proclaimed him the victorious Emperor.

THE DEATH OF PHILIP.

Peace now seemed to be secured on all sides. Philip had obtained the highest object of his wishes. A proposal of marriage between Otho and Beatrice, the daughter of Philip, had been sanctioned by the Pope, under the pretence of healing the long-standing feud between the houses of Swabia and Saxony. But uncertain is the tenure of all human greatness and human glory. On the 21st of June, 1208, the Emperor Philip, one of the ablest and mildest of his race, was basely assassinated by the Count Palatine of Bavaria for some private offence. The country was paralysed by the news of this terrible crime. The execration of mankind pursued the murderer; his castle was levelled with the ground, and the assassin put to death with many wounds.

Innocent now retraced his steps. The crime of the Bavarian relieved him from the humiliation of his apostasy. He hastened to write to the German princes, charging them to acquiesce in

* J. C. Robertson, vol. iii., p. 297; Milman, vol. iv., p. 51; Neander, vol. vii., p. 236.

the manifest declaration of divine providence in favour of Otho. He used every means in his power to prevent a fresh election, and to unite all parties in his support ; and he warmly exhorted Otho to moderation and conciliation. On both sides there was an ardent desire for peace, and Otho was now undisputed Emperor.

The following year, 1209, he proceeded to Italy to receive the imperial crown. He was attended by the princes, prelates, and nobles of the Empire, with a numerous army of military dependents. Their march was a succession of festive receptions. The cities opened their gates to welcome the champion of the Church, and the Emperor chosen by the Pope. **Innocent and Otho** met at Viterbo. "They embraced, they wept tears of joy, in remembrance of their common trials, in transport at their common triumph." But the Pope did not forget the prerogative of his Pontifical throne. He demanded security that Otho would surrender, immediately after his coronation, the lands of the Church, and yield every pretension to the long-disputed inheritance of the Countess Matilda. But so good, so humble, so submissive was Otho, as he was kneeling for the diadem, that his heart was grieved at the apparent suspicion of his loyalty by his holy father. "All that I have been," he exclaimed, "all I am, all I ever shall be, after God, I owe to you and the Church."

THE APOSTASY OF OTHO.

The imperial crown was now on the head of Otho. Not only was he crowned by the hands of Innocent in St. Peter's, at Rome, but he was raised to that dignity by the artful and cruel policy of the apostolic See. But the deceiver was deceived ; the traitor was betrayed. Scarcely was the ceremony of the coronation completed, when the mask of obedience under which Otho had veiled his real intentions was thrown off. The effect of the **iron crown** was irresistible. He felt himself a new man, in a new position, and bound to maintain the prerogatives of his crown against the encroachments of the spiritual power. From that hour the Emperor and the Pope were implacable enemies. Such was the disappointment, as overruled by the righteous government of God, of the unscrupulous Pontiff. Satan may rule, but an all-wise God overrules. "Be not deceived," says the apostle, "God is not mocked ; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap" (Gal. 6. 7). Innocent had taught his nominee to deceive, and now he must eat the bitter fruit of his own teaching.

The unusual strength and numbers of Otho's army which accompanied him, and now lay encamped under the walls of Rome, were regarded with great jealousy by the inhabitants. The quarrels, which had become customary on such occasions, were renewed with great fierceness. Many of the Germans were

slain, and a number of their horses were killed—so they said, at least. But it was enough. Otho's smothered ambition was now kindled into a flame of indignation. He withdrew in wrath from the city. He demanded compensation. Innocent refused. The troops were distributed over the patrimony of St. Peter to the great damage of the people and the increasing alarm of the Pope. The Emperor was requested to withdraw his soldiers from the neighbourhood of Rome, but he declared they would remain until the provisions of the country were exhausted. He enriched himself by the plunder of pilgrims whom his soldiery intercepted on their way to Rome. He marched into Tuscany, took possession of the cities on the frontier of the territory of the Countess Matilda, seized towns and fortresses which the Pope had lately occupied; estates and dignities within the Pontifical claims he bestowed upon his favourites, and the most formidable of the Pope's adversaries, Count Diephold, he invested with the Duchy of Spoleto. Success inflamed his ambition; he contemplated the invasion of Sicily, and seizing the young Frederick, the last of the house of Hohenstaufen.

He who had proclaimed himself infallible was in despair. After all his labours, all his sacrifices, all his treacheries, he had raised up to himself a more formidable antagonist, a more bitter foe than any of the Swabian family had ever been. The most earnest appeals to his gratitude, the most solemn admonitions, and the loudest thunders of excommunication, were alike disregarded by the headstrong pupil of Richard Cœur de Lion.

THE FALL OF OTHO.

Otho had now been three years absent from Germany—three years of unwonted peace in that country—their hands had become strong. The kindred of the young Frederick became anxious for his safety. He was now about eighteen years of age. The Pope was quietly consulted. He turned round, saw good reason to take active measures against Otho, and to assume the most friendly disposition towards Frederick. There were many difficulties in the way, because of the occupation of Otho; but two brave and loyal Swabian knights accomplished the dangerous expedition, and Frederick was safely conducted from his sunny Palermo to the colder regions of Germany, where he was welcomed with open arms to resume his ancestral throne. But the cause of Frederick against Otho was really won by Philip Augustus of France.

Between the two rivals for the Empire there was no great battle. France had all along been the steady friend of the Swabians, as England had been of the Saxons. Philip entered into a close alliance with Frederick. The Count of Flanders, the princes of the lower Rhine, and the King of England entered

into league with Otho. At the head of a large army he advanced, under the impulse of vindictive passion, towards the frontiers of France. He regarded Philip as the real author of all his misfortunes. But his vigilant adversary was ready to receive him. On the 27th of July, 1214, a great battle was fought at the village of **Bouvines,** not far from Lille. Philip Augustus was victorious over the last of the Othos and his allies. He survived his fall about five years, which he was allowed to spend in monastic penance without being formally deposed.

The following year **Frederick II** was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, and in the enthusiasm of the moment, he, with many others, made a vow to go in person on a Crusade to the Holy Land. This rash promise was the occasion of troubles which he little expected, extending over his long reign of thirty-five years

INNOCENT AND PHILIP AUGUSTUS.

We have seen the interference of Innocent in the elevation of three Emperors to the throne of Germany, and the policy he pursued in order to obtain more temporal power for the Roman See, and a more extensive dominion over the minds and ways of all mankind. We now follow him to the kingdom of France there to witness an expression of the same Pontifical power, but, on other grounds, and for other objects. He now comes before us as the protector of innocence against wrong, the preacher of Christian morals, and the maintainer of the sanctity of the marriage bond. We are willing to allow that in his contest with Philip he may have been actuated by a right motive ; but his outward conduct is marked by the same dictatorial spirit that has hitherto characterised his reign. He assumes to himself the high function of the supreme direction of all human affairs ; as arbiter in the last resort, whether it be a contested throne, or the holy sacrament of marriage. But our main object, under this heading, is to give the reader an example of a whole kingdom being laid under the Papal ban. It is difficult in our own days to believe the awful consequences of such a thing.

A remarkable circumstance in connection with the **second marriage of Philip** furnished Innocent with the desired opportunity to chastise and humble the ally and supporter of the house of Swabia. On his return from the Crusade in 1193, he was attracted by the fame of the beauty and virtues of Ingeburga, or Isamburga, sister of the King of Denmark. The hand of the King of France was readily accepted, the dowry fixed. She arrived in France under an escort of Danish nobles, and the king hastened to meet her at Amiens. The day after their marriage the royal pair were crowned ; but during the ceremony of the coronation Philip was observed to shudder and turn pale. It was soon found that he had conceived an uncon-

querable aversion for his new queen. As no real cause could be found for such a change in the king, it was popularly ascribed to witchcraft, or diabolic influence. She is described as of gentle manners, very beautiful, and sincere as a Christian. Philip proposed to send her back at once to Denmark; her attendants refused the disgraceful office; and she herself was determined to remain in France.

The king was now in a great difficulty. He applied for a divorce, but knew that unless a dissolution of the marriage could be obtained in due form he would have no peace. The genealogies of the royal houses were traced, and, as it was found by the bishops devoted to the king that the royal pair were within the forbidden degrees, therefore the clergy of France, with the Archbishop of Rheims at their head, pronounced the marriage null and void. When the sentence was explained to Ingeburga, who could scarcely speak a word of French, her feelings of indignation were expressed by exclaiming, "Wicked France! Rome! Rome!" Her brother took up her cause, and appealed to the aged Pope, Celestine; but he was unequal to contend with the powerful King of France, and no decided step was taken during the remainder of his Pontificate. In the meantime Ingeburga was shut up in a convent, and Philip married Agnes, the beautiful daughter of the Duke of Meran. His affection for Agnes was as intense as his hatred of Ingeburga. The former was introduced on all occasions to grace the royal circle; the latter was dragged from convent to convent, or rather from prison to prison.

Such was the state of things in France when Innocent espoused the cause of the repudiated princess of Denmark. He first wrote to the Bishop of Paris, then to the king himself. After enlarging on the sanctity of marriage, he admonished the king to put away Agnes and to restore Ingeburga. The king haughtily declared that the affair of his marriage was no business of the Pope's. But Philip had soon to feel the power and the terror of the Papal thunders, and as they had never before been felt in France.

THE POPE'S LEGATE IN FRANCE.

Peter, Cardinal of St. Mary in the Via Lata, was sent as legate into France, with authority, in case of the king's obstinacy, to lay his dominions under the Papal ban. But the command to put away his beloved Agnes, and to receive again the hated Ingeburga, the king treated with contempt and defiance. The Pope was inflexible. "If, within one month," he wrote to the legate, "after your communication, the King of France does not receive his queen with conjugal affection, you shall subject his whole realm to interdict—an interdict with all its awful consequences." A council was held at **Dijon,** messengers

appeared from the king, protesting in his name against all further proceedings, and appealing to Rome. But the orders to the legate were peremptory. The interdict was proclaimed with all its appalling circumstances. It is thus described: "At midnight, each priest holding a torch, were chanted the psalm for the miserable, and the prayers for the dead, the last prayers which were to be uttered by the clergy of France during the interdict. The cross on which the Saviour hung was veiled with black crape; the relics replaced within the tombs; the host was consumed. The cardinal, in his mourning stole of violet, pronounced the territories of the King of France under the ban. All religious services from that time ceased; there was no access to Heaven by prayer or offering. The sobs of the aged, of the women and children alone broke the silence. The interdict was pronounced at Dijon. Only the baptism of infants, and extreme unction to the dying were allowed by the Church while the realm lay under the curse of the Papal ban."

For the **guilt of the sovereign** the whole nation must suffer, reasoned the Pope, in order that his heart might be softened, either by pity for the misery of his people or by fear of their discontent; and in those days of superstition the misery was extreme; for death at such a time would be thought eternal perdition. "O how terrible," exclaimed an eye-witness, "how pitiable a spectacle it was in all our cities! To see the doors of the Church watched, and Christians driven away from them like dogs; all divine offices ceased; the sacrament of the body and blood of the soul was not offered; no gathering together of the people, as wont at the festivals of the saints; the bodies of the dead not admitted to Christian burial, but their stench infected the air, the loathsome sight of them appalled the living. Only extreme unction and baptism were allowed. There was a deep silence over the whole realm, while the organs and the voices of those who chanted God's praises were everywhere mute." *

THE RAGE OF THE KING.

Philip Augustus was a proud, haughty, arbitrary prince, not accustomed to brook encroachment quietly. He broke out into paroxysms of fury; he swore by the sword of Charlemagne that he would rather lose half his dominions than part from Agnes of Meran. He threatened the clergy with the last extremities if they dared to obey the Pope. Ingeburga was seized, dragged from her cloister, and imprisoned in the strong castle of Etampes. But the wrath of the king could not prevail over the stern decree of the Pope. The barons, whose power he had reduced, cared not to rally round him; the people were in a state of pious insurrection. They had assembled round the

* See "Latin Christianity," vol. iv., p. 67.

Churches, forced the doors; they were determined not to be deprived of their religious services. The king became alarmed at the mutinies among the people, and promised to obey the Pope.

A deputation was sent to Rome. The king complained of the harsh proceedings of the legate, but declared himself ready to abide by the sentence of the Pope. "What sentence?" sternly exclaimed his holiness; "he knows our decree; let him put away his concubine, receive his lawful wife, reinstate the bishops whom he has expelled, and give them satisfaction for their losses. Then will we raise the interdict, receive his sureties, examine into the alleged relationship, and pronounce our decree." The answer went to the heart of Agnes, and drove the king to madness. "I will turn Mohammedan," he exclaimed. "Happy Saladin, he has no Pope above him." But the haughty Philip must bow. The affections and religious feelings of all classes were with the clergy. He summoned a Parliament at Paris; it was attended by all the great vassals of the crown. "What is to be done?" demanded the king, with his beautiful Agnes by his side. "Obey the Pope, dismiss Agnes, receive back Ingeburga," was the crushing reply. Thus he who had doubled France in extent by the sharpness of his sword, and the prudence of his policy; he who had raised the crown to something like independence above the great feudal lords; must now drink the dregs of humiliation in the presence of the nobles of France **at the bidding of the Pope.**

The scene was overwhelming. Agnes had declared that she cared nothing for the crown, that it was her husband she loved. A stranger, the daughter of a Christian prince, young and ignorant of the world, she married the king, and had borne him two children. "Sever me not from my husband," was her touching appeal. But the inexorable decree had gone forth: "Obey the Pope, dismiss Agnes, receive back Ingeburga." The king at last agreed to a reconciliation with Ingeburga. She was brought in; but the sight of her so aroused the king's aversion that negotiations were almost broken off. At last he mastered himself for the moment and bowed to the Papal sentence. He swore to receive and honour her as Queen of France. At that instant the ringing of bells proclaimed that the interdict which had weighed so heavily on the people for upwards of seven months was taken off. "The curtains were withdrawn from the images, from the crucifixes, the doors of the churches flew open, the multitudes streamed in to satiate their pious desires, which had been suppressed during the period of the interdict."

Rome has accomplished her object; she has triumphed over the greatest king in Christendom; the word of God is fulfilled: "The woman which thou sawest is that great city, which reigneth over the kings of the earth." Universal dominion over the

bodies and souls and affairs of men was her unquenchable desire her unceasing aim. And beyond this display of power we cannot suppose that Rome had any higher object in view, as she had sanctioned in Philip's great predecessor more outrageous conduct.

The distressed king now separated himself from his broken-hearted Agnes. She soon after died of grief, having given birth to a son, to whom she gave the significant name of Tristan—the son of my sorrow. Ingeburga was received with outward honour, but was in reality a state prisoner. Nothing could ever induce Philip to live with her as his wife, though he consented to her living in the palace. Fresh quarrels between France and England diverted the mind of Innocent from the neglected queen, and opened up a more inviting field for his active and ambitious mind.

We will now turn to home scenes for a little.

INNOCENT AND ENGLAND.

Richard the Lion-hearted, it will be remembered, was the great supporter of Otho, the Papal claimant of the Empire. England at that time was in close alliance with the See of Rome. After the death of Richard his brother John, the youngest son of Henry II, was raised to the vacant throne. According to our present laws of succession, his nephew, Arthur, Duke of Brittany, the only son and heir of his elder brother, Geoffrey Plantagenet, would have been king. But crowns at this time were as much elective as hereditary.

The whole reign of **John**—1199-1216—is a history of weakness and violence, of wickedness and degradation, of the most cruel, sensual, and faithless of monarchs. But the hand of the Lord is most manifest in the affairs of England at this time. Never had a viler prince worn a crown ; yet God in His mercy, and in His care for England, overruled his many faults for the benefit of the Church and the people of England. We speak of course in general terms. But from this reign may be dated England's wholesome dread of Popery, and her enthusiasm for civil and religious liberty. Disastrous to the last degree as was the reign of John ; humiliating to the king and to the nation ; yet the united voice of history affirms that it was then that the foundations were laid of "the English character, the English liberties, and the English greatness ; and to this reign, from the attempt to degrade the kingdom to a fief of the Roman See, may be traced the first signs of that independence, that jealousy of the Papal usurpations, which led eventually to the Reformation." The overruling hand of God, in His special care of England, has been manifest in all her revolutions ever since. Scarcely any benefit resulted to either Church or State in France from the Pope's

interference with Philip, excepting that they were made to feel the awfulness of the Papal power. But no Magna Charta was signed, no House of Commons arose.

One of John's first and great scandals, reveals in the clearest light the unprincipled character of Innocent's policy. John had been married twelve years to a daughter of the Earl of Gloucester before he came to the throne. After that, aspiring to a royal connection, he sought a dissolution, and the obsequious Archbishop of Bordeaux dissolved the marriage bond. He suddenly became enamoured with a lady who was the bethrothed bride of the Count de la Mark, carried her off, and was married to her, while his own wife was living. But what will the Pope now say about the holy sacrament of matrimony—he whose horror of such connections has been so inexorably displayed in the case of Philip and Agnes ? Fast and thick we may expect his thunderbolts to fly at the adulterous king. But no, no censure is uttered from Rome against either the king or the archbishop. He confirms the dissolution of the marriage in the face of God, the Church, and the world. Such was the glaring wickedness of "his holiness, his infallibility." But why show such partiality to John ? He was the supporter of Otho, and the enemy of the house of Swabia.

But if the Pope was quiescent, the world was scandalised. Such an outrage on a great vassal was a violation of the first law of feudalism. The **Barons of Anjou,** Touraine, Poitou, Maine, were eager to avenge the indignity offered to Hugh de la Mark, and from that day they held themselves absolved from their fealty to John. They appealed to Philip, King of France, for redress. Philip Augustus felt his strength, and summoned the English king to answer in his courts of Paris for the wrongs done to the Count de la Mark. John appeared not. This led to a ruinous war, and to loss of immense territories in France to England. In a few months Philip wrested from John the great inheritance of Rollo—the great Anglo-Norman duke-dom, which in the days of his father Henry II was equal in the extent of its territories, its revenues, its forces, its wealth, to the whole of that over which the French monarch swayed his sceptre.*

JOHN AND THE PAPACY.

We now leave the civil, and turn more directly to the **ecclesi-astical history** of affairs in England at this interesting moment.

We have seen the Pope overlooking the gravest immoralities in John, on account, as we suppose, of his being the partisan of Otho, and the ally of the Holy See ; but John was now guilty of crimes which his holiness could not overlook. His matri-

* For details, see the civil and general church histories. We have followed chiefly names already and frequently quoted.

monial irregularities, however criminal, might be allowed to pass without censure ; but his disposal of sees, his taxation of monasteries, his interference in the appointment of a primate, brought him into direct collision with the Papacy, and involved him in a fierce contention with his ally, Pope Innocent.

Immediately after the death of Hubert, Archbishop of Canterbury, the younger monks hastily elected their sub-prior, Reginald, to the vacant See. But soon finding that they had acted imprudently, they applied to the king for leave to proceed in a fresh election. The choice of a bishop was really in the hands of the sovereign, though nominally it might be in the hands of the clergy. Such was the Anglo-Norman system. The king recommended one of his chief councillors, **John de Grey,** Bishop of Norwich, who was accordingly chosen, invested with the temporalities of the See, and sent to Rome for confirmation. The Pope now saw his opportunity, and eager to extend his power in England, disallowed both elections, Reginald and John de Grey, and commanded the election of Stephen Langton, an Englishman by birth, a learned prudent man, and of excellent character. A more fit person, as it happened, could not have been named by the Pope ; but his action was in defiance of the privilege claimed by the monks, the suffragan bishops, and the king himself. In vain did the representatives of Canterbury and the king's commissioners urge the necessity of the royal assent. Innocent ruled otherwise. He constituted them a chapter by "the authority of God and the apostolic See." The monks were now between two tyrants—the spiritual and the temporal. Twelve were under oath to the king not to elect any one but the Bishop of Norwich ; the Pope commanded them to elect Langton, on pain of excommunication and anathema. Overcome by this awful menace, the chapter yielded to the spiritual tyrant, proceeded to elect Stephen, and on the 17th of June, 1207, the Pope consecrated him Archbishop of Canterbury.

Such an interference with the rights of the established Church and the prerogative of the crown was wholly new in England. Had John been a popular prince and surrounded by the strength and sympathies of his insulted people, he might have laughed to scorn the daring presumption and menaces of a foreign priest ; but the folly and unpopularity of the king gave the Pope the opportunity he desired. The **monks of Canterbury,** on their return from Rome were impeached of high treason ; and were in consequence expelled from their residences, and their property confiscated. But the king's fury knew no bounds ; he dispatched a troop of horse to drive the monks out of the country, and, in case of resistance, to put them to death. The orders were executed in the temper they were given. The soldiers broke into the monastery with drawn swords. The prior and monks

were ordered to leave the kingdom, and threatened if they resisted or delayed, to see their monastery set on fire, and themselves thrust back into the flames. Many of them fled and found an asylum in Flanders. The king also indulged in the most insulting and stinging language to the proud and passionate Pontiff; protesting that he would never accept Stephen Langton as primate, that he would maintain the right of the Bishop of Norwich, and, in case of the Pope's refusal, he would cut off all communication between his dominions and Rome. But the Pope proceeded with no less energy than John, only with a calmer dignity.

In the course of some further exchange of letters the Pope enlarges on the learning and piety of Langton, and exhorts the king to abstain from taking up arms against God and His Church. But as John made no concession, Innocent commanded the Bishops of London, Worcester, and Ely, to lay the whole kingdom under an interdict. When the bishops delivered their message, the king's anger broke out in wild oaths and blasphemies. He swore that if either Pope or prelate should lay the kingdom under an interdict he would drive the bishops and clergy out of the kingdom "without eyes, ears, or noses, to be the scarecrows of all nations." The prelates withdrew, and, when at a convenient distance from John published the interdict.

ENGLAND UNDER THE BAN.

In a moment all divine offices throughout the kingdom ceased, except the rite of baptism and extreme unction. "From Berwick to the British Channel," says one account of this fearful malediction, "from the Land's End to Dover, the Churches were closed, the bells were silent; the only clergy who were seen stealing silently about were those who were to baptise new-born infants, or hear the confession of the dying. The dead were cast out of the towns, buried like dogs in some unconsecrated place, without prayer, without the tolling bell, without funeral rite. Those only can judge the effect of a Papal interdict who consider how completely the whole life of all orders was affected by the ritual and daily ordinances of the Church. Every important act was done under the counsel of the priest or the monk. The festivals of the Church were the only holidays, the processions of the Church the only spectacles, the ceremonies of the Church the only amusements. To hear no prayer nor chant, to suppose that the world was surrendered to the unrestrained power of the Devil and his evil spirits, with no saint to intercede, no sacrifice to avert the wrath of God; when no single image was exposed to view, not a cross unveiled: the intercourse between man and God utterly broken off; souls left to perish, or but reluctantly permitted absolution in the instant of death." And

from other quarters we learn that, in order to inspire a deeper gloom and fanaticism, the hair was to be left uncut and the beard unshaven ; the use of meat was forbidden, and even the ordinary salutation was prohibited.

Such was the state of our own country, England, for at least four years. The public misery was great and universal ; but neither the misery of the subject nor the religious privations of the Christian moved the obdurate heart of the king or the Pontiff. The triumph of the shepherd of Rome over a great kingdom was far more to be desired than the welfare of the flock. The prelates who published the edict with other rich bishops fled the kingdom. "There they lived," says the historian, "in abundance and luxury, instead of standing up as a defence for the Lord's house, abandoning their flocks to the ravening wolf."

The vindictive tyrant John seemed to defy and treat with insolent disdain the awful effects of the edict on his suffering subjects. He revelled in his vengeance against the bishops and priests who obeyed the Pope. He confiscated the property of the superior clergy and monasteries throughout England, and compelled the Jews to yield up their wealth by imprisonment and torture. This state of things had lasted nearly two years when another bull was issued.

The crafty Pope had narrowly watched the effect of the first, and seeing that John was losing his friends and becoming more unpopular, he published the sentence of excommunication against the name and person of the sovereign. Still the profligate habits of John were such that, while he defied the Pope and the hierarchy he at the same time alienated the affections of all order in the country. Again the Pope saw his opportunity, and issued another bull yet more appalling. The subjects of John were absolved from their allegiance and commanded to avoid his presence. But with that stoical indifference to human suffering which he uniformally manifested, he determined that both himself and the nation should brave the full vengeance of Rome. The Papal thunders seemed wasted on the unfeeling and irreligious king ; and had he managed his nobles and people wisely, the greatest of the Popes and the heaviest of his bolts, must have been ineffectual on the people of England. But the rapacity, barbarities, and outrageous conduct of the king, estranged all classes. Disaffection grew into murmurs, almost into revolt. Innocent, observing this leaven of disaffection working so effectually in England, prepared to launch his last and most dangerous thunderbolt against the contumacious sovereign. "The interdict had smitten the land ; the excommunication had desecrated the person of the king ; there remained the act of *deposition* from the throne of his fathers, which was now pronounced. That John, King of England, be deposed from the

royal crown and dignity ; that his subjects be dissolved from their oath of allegiance, and be at liberty to transfer them to a person worthier to fill the vacant throne." *

The **throne of England** was now publicly and solemnly declared vacant, by the decree of the Pope, and the king's dominions the lawful spoil of whoever could wrest them from his unhallowed hands. Such was the power of the Pope in those days, and such the terror of his thunders. He struck great nations with his anathemas, and they fell before him as if withered and blasted ; he hurled great kings from their thrones, and compelled them to bend before the tempest of his wrath, and humbly obey the mandate of his will. All, without exception, in Church and State, must accept his own terms of reconciliation, or die without salvation and be tormented in the flames of Hell for ever. The haughty and able Philip Augustus of France was tamed into submission in a few months ; while the weak and contemptible John disregarded his fulminations for years, but it was only to receive a heavier blow at last, and submit to a deeper humiliation. We shall now see how this was accomplished ; and, in the plot, the reader will also notice the deep cunning and deceitfulness of the Pope. We have no difficulty, throughout this affair, in seeing the depths of Satan.

THE CROWN OF ENGLAND OFFERED TO FRANCE.

The Papal sentence of deposition against the king of England having been publicly and solemnly promulgated, **Philip of France** was delegated to execute the decree. The legates placed in his hands a formal commission, directing him by apostolic authority to invade England, depose the king, and take his crown ; and it is observed by the historian, that the legates and prelates feigned the most wondrous zeal and earnestness in the whole affair ; while it was altogether the merest artifice. Nothing was further from Innocent's mind than to unite the two crowns on one head. This would have strengthened France, not the Roman See. Philip had not forgotten the insolence of the Pope in interdicting his kingdom, and excommunicating himself ; but his hatred of John, his love of enterprise, and the Pope's treachery, completely blinded him. He counted on the truthfulness of the Pope, but he made a ruinous mistake. Not a moment, however, was lost by Philip in collecting a numerous fleet and army for the invasion of England.

The Pope at the same time published a crusade all over Christendom against the impious King John, promising to all who should take part in this holy war the remission of sins and the privileges of crusaders. But the fallen king was not wanting either in vigour or subtlety. He assembled a large fleet at

* Greenwood's "Cathedra Petri," book xiii., p. 582 ; Milman's "Latin Christianity," vol. iv., p. 90 ; Waddington's "History of the Church," vol. ii., p. 167.

Portsmouth, and an army on Barham Downs, near Canterbury. He assumed the aggressive ; but he soon discovered that in his large army there were not many to be relied upon. Maddened with passion, he threatened to become a Mohammedan and seek an alliance with the Caliph ; but at this moment the spirit of the impatient king underwent a sudden revolution. From the height of defiant rage he fell to the lowest depths of prostration and fear.

ENGLAND SURRENDERED TO ROME.

As it was not the interest or the intention of his holiness to allow matters to be carried to extremities, the vigilant Pope saw his time was come to interfere. Two legates, Pandulph and Durand, were sent over with the final **demands of Innocent to John.** They assured him that the King of France was ready to invade England with a great host and a powerful fleet, and that he would be accompanied with the archbishops, bishops, and clergy whom John had banished ; that they would transfer their allegiance to his rival Philip, and place the crown upon his head. With many such-like statements, they terrified the king, who lost all self-possession, and threw himself and his kingdom into the hands of the legates without reserve. With a meanness of spirit almost exceeding belief, and an abject submission which knew no bounds, he laid his crown at the feet of the haughty legate, resigned England and Ireland into the hands of the Pope, swore homage to him as his liege lord, and took the oath of fealty to his successors The terms of this remarkable oath are rather long and wordy, but the following is the substance of it, as given in the " Encyclopaedia Britannica."

" I John, by the grace of God King of England and Lord of Ireland, in order to expiate my sins, from my own free will and the advice of my barons, give to the Church of Rome, to Pope Innocent and his successors, the kingdom of England, and all other prerogatives of my crown. I will hereafter hold them as the Pope's vassal. I will be faithful to God, to the Church of Rome, to the Pope *my master*, and to his successors legitimately elected. I promise to pay him a tribute of 1000 merks ; * to wit, 700 for the kingdom of England, and 300 for the kingdom of Ireland." This memorable submission took place on the 15th of May, 1213, in the fourteenth year of his reign, at the house of the Templars, not far from Dover.

This oath was taken by the king kneeling before all the people, and with his hands held up between those of the legate. The attesting witnesses were, one archbishop, one bishop, nine earls, four barons. Having then agreed to install Langton in the primacy, he received the crown which he had been supposed to have forfeited. The wary and politic Pandulph, having received

* An old Scotch silver coin, worth about 13s. 6d. This was to be paid yearly, besides Peter's Pence.

the fealty of the King of England, and **eighty thousand sterling** as compensation for the exiled bishops, hastily gathered up his charter and his money-bags, and hurried to rejoin the banished prelates in Normandy and divide the money. He next hastened to the camp of King Philip Augustus, and finding the army on the point of embarkation for England, he coolly informed the king "that there was now no further need for his services; and that in fact any attempt to invade the kingdom, or to annoy the King of England must be highly offensive to the Holy See, inasmuch as that kingdom was now part and parcel of the patrimony of the Church. It was therefore his duty to dismiss his army, and himself to return home in peace."

When Philip discovered that he had been so thoroughly duped, he broke out in a storm of indignant invective against the Pope. "He had been drawn into enormous expense; he had called forth the whole strength of his dominions, under the delusive promise of a kingdom and the remission of his sins; all this he had done at the earnest entreaty of the Pope. And was all the chivalry of France, in arms around their sovereign, to be dismissed like hired menials when there was no more use for their services?" But the kings' fury was met by a cool repetition of the order: "Desist from hostilities against the vassal of the Holy See." *

Philip's disappointment and mortification were great; but not daring to offend the Pope and unwilling to disband his army without attempting some enterprise, he made a desent on Flanders. Ferrand, the earl, though a peer of France, having entered into a secret league with John, gave Philip a fair pretext for turning his arms against his revolted vassal. But the fleets of England joined the Flemings, and the attempted conquest of Flanders ended in a disgraceful defeat. The English captured three hundred vessels, and destroyed about a hundred more; whilst Philip, finding it impossible to prevent the rest from falling into the hands of the enemy, set fire to them himself, and thus abandoned the enterprise. Such was the heavy loss and discomfiture of Philip through the deep laid plot of Innocent.

MAGNA CHARTA.

John having thus triumphed over his bitter enemy, and secured the alliance of the Holy See, continued the same cruel and tyrannical measures which had hitherto rendered him odious to his subjects. His long misgovernment, and his reckless indulgence in excesses of every vicious habit, had exhausted the patience of all classes both in Church and State. A general desire was expressed for the privileges and the control of settled law.

The **story of Magna Charta** is so truly English, so well known,

* "Cathedra Petri," book xiii., p. 588.

and so intimately connected with Church, as well as civil history, that we must give it a brief notice. Besides, it is said by historians, that no event of equal importance occurred in any other country of Europe during the thirteenth century ; and that the results of no single incident have ever been so enduring or so widely spread as those of the meeting of the barons at Runnymede and the summoning of the burgesses to Parliament. While monarchy was making such rapid strides in France, a counterbalancing power was formed in England by the combination of the nobility and the rise of the House of Commons.

Archbishop Langton, whom Innocent had raised to the primacy, in order by his means to maintain all the exhorbitant pretensions of Rome over England, was himself an Englishman, and on all occasions showed a sincere regard for the interests of the kingdom to the utter disappointment of the Pope. Having found amidst the rubbish of an obscure monastery a copy of the charter of Henry I, he conferred privately with the barons, and exorted them to have it renewed. Those the barons who had felt deeply the degradation which John had inflicted on the whole kingdom by his abject submission to the Pope, received the document with loud acclamations, and took a solemn oath to conquer or to die in the defence of their liberties. After several conferences and delays, forty-five barons, armed in mail. well mounted on their war-steeds, and surrounded with their knights, servants, and soldiers, presented a petition to the king, praying him to renew and ratify the charter. John at first resented their presumption in a furious passion, and swore "that he would never grant *them* liberties which would make himself a slave." But the barons were firm and united, and the court of John rapidly diminished. He eventually submitted and agreed to a friendly conference. The barons named **Runnymede** as a proper place for meeting. It was a meadow situated between Staines and Windsor ; the ground is still held in veneration as the spot where the standard of English freedom was first unfurled. On the 15th day of June, 1215, both parties met there ; the king signed the charter—the great charter of the liberties of England.

THE RAGE OF INNOCENT.

Among the witnesses to that signature was **Pandulph,** the haughty legate. He saw it was a deadly blow to the Papal power in England. Innocent was soon in possession of the startling news. His infallibility shuddered with alarm ; he raged, he swore, as his manner was ; he knit his brow, as the historian says, and broke out into the language of astonishment. "What ! have the barons of England presumed to dethrone a king who has taken the cross, and placed himself under the

protection of the apostolic See ? Do they transfer to others the patrimony of the Church of Rome ? By St. Peter we cannot leave such a crime unpunished." The great charter was declared null and void, the king forbidden under pain of excommunication to respect the oath which he had taken or the liberties he had confirmed. But the spiritual censures, the annulling edicts, were now received by the barons with utter disregard.

War broke out ; and to the still deeper disgrace of John, who had no army of his own, he brought over from the continent bands of adventurers and freebooters, promising them the estates of the English barons as rewards of valour. At the head of these mercenary troops, with the aid of two warlike bishops, **Worcester** and **Norwich,** he traversed the whole country from the channel to the Forth. He let loose his ferocious hordes like wild beasts upon his unhappy realm. The barons had made no preparations for war, not suspecting the introduction of a foreign army. Here again we see the depths of Satan ; he is ever ready to give to another what power he has over the nations, provided he to whom he gives it subjects himself entirely to his will. " All these things will I give thee, if thou wilt fall down and worship me " (Matt. 4. 8, 9). It was much the same to John whether he became a vassal to the Pope, Mohammed, or Satan. For a short time he was undisputed master of the field. The whole land was wasted with fire and sword. Plunder, murder, torture, raged without control. Nothing was sacred, nothing was safe. Nobles and peasants fled with their wives and families when it was possible. The blood-stained assassins of the King and the Pope passed through the country with the sword in one hand and the torch in the other ; when a cry arose to Heaven, " Oh, unhappy England ! Oh, unhappy country ! May God have mercy on us, and may His judgments fall on the King and the Pope."

The judgment was not long delayed. Neither Heaven nor earth could tolerate their cruelties and tyrannies any longer. The Pope died on July 16, 1216, at the age of fifty-five—just a year, a month, and a day after the signing of Magna Charta. John survived him only a few months. He died on the 12th of October, 1216, in the forty-ninth year of his age, and the seventeenth of his reign. It is supposed that he died from fright accompanied by drunkenness. As he was returning from one of his scenes of slaughter, the royal waggons were crossing the sands of the Wash, from Norfolk into Lincolnshire, when the tide rose suddenly and all sank in the abyss. The accident filled the King with terror. He felt as if the earth was about to open and swallow him alive. He drank copiously of cider, which, with fear and remorse, closed the days of the meanest and most despicable tyrant that has ever sat on the throne of England. The names of other kings, whose vices are black enough to call

forth the execrations of posterity, are often surrounded with such a halo of talent, either in the senate or the field, as to mitigate the severity of the sentence. But King John dies, his character stands before us unredeemed by one solitary virtue.*

* "Encyclopaedia Britannica," vol. viii., p. 721; D'Aubigne, vol. v., p. 98; James White, "Eighteen Christian Centuries," p. 290.

Chapter XXV

Innocent and the South of France

A new field of blood, and an entirely new character of warfare, were now brought before the mind of the voracious priest of Rome. It was a war not against the enemies of the faith abroad, or against the refractory kings at home, but the army of the Church warring against the confessed followers of the Lord Jesus Christ. This was *a new thing in the annals of Christendom.*

By the favour of the princes and by the indifference of the clergy the **Albigenses** had been allowed for centuries to preach the Gospel and to spread the truth unmolested. Roman Catholicism had nearly perished from the provinces of Count Raymond. The people generally were well inclined to break off their connection with the Church of Rome altogether. When this state of things came to the ears of Innocent, he called for a crusade against the heretics of Languedoc, and rested not until he had swept the whole population from the soil of France.

But we must first of all go back a few steps in order to connect the line of witnesses for Christ and His Gospel.

THE CHAIN OF WITNESSES.

When we parted with the **Paulicians***—the Eastern witnesses for God and His truth—we promised to meet with them again in the regions of the West. It is asserted that in their missionary zeal they spread themselves over Europe ; but whether they remained a distinct and characteristic sect, or mingled with the sectaries of the West, has been a question with historians. Among the various forms of heresy which were denounced by the dominant Church, scarcely one of them escaped the charge of Manicheism—the brand affixed to the emigrants from the East. But it would be unreasonable to contend from this general charge that the Western sects were the fruit of their mission, though branded with the same name. It is more than likely, however, that they found many separatists in spirit, though not openly so, and in such cases may have become their teachers, and in this way perpetuated their principles.

The Western witnesses we have no doubt were the result of the same spirit of grace and truth, through the faithfulness of God, who never left Himself without a witness, but we see no ground to speak of them as the descendants of the misrepresented Paulicians. More likely there was an *intermingling* of these seceders from the established Church.

* Vol. i., p. 296.

We shall now endeavour to trace the *silver line* of God's grace, which was actively at work, though under different forms and names, during the darkest period of the Papal oppression. There is no difficulty in identifying God's witnesses from the earliest period down to the Reformation, or in tracing the unbroken chain of testimony against the wickedness of Rome, and for the true Gospel of the grace of God. We brought the line of witnesses in the history of the Paulicians down to the tenth century; we shall now notice the more prominent sects which arose in the West before and since that period.

1. **Claudius,** a Spaniard by birth, was famous as a commentator on the Scriptures in the court of Louis in Aquitaine. His patron, the Emperor, promoted him to the bishopric of Turin, in the year 814. He is spoken of in history as the Wycliffe of the ninth century, and the strenuous advocate of primitive Christianity. On reaching his diocese he found the Churches filled with images and embellished with flowers and garlands. He at once, and in the most unceremonious manner, ordered all such ornaments to be removed. No distinction was to be made in favour of any picture, relic, or cross; all were to be swept away as with the besom of destruction. He denounced the worship of such things as the renewal of the worship of demons under other names, in place of preaching the glorious resurrection of the Lord Jesus. He declared that the apostolic office of St. Peter ceased with the life of the apostle. He therefore made light of Papal censures and the alleged power of the keys. It has been said that he went the length of separating his Church from the Romish communion.

But, like many other reformers, Claudius was rough and intemperate in his zeal. The fearful corruptions of the clergy and the idolatries of the people led him to speak and write in strong and passionate terms. Nor need we wonder. But the Lord watched over him in the most marvellous way. Though he was a bold reformer and a fearless iconoclast in an Italian city, he was permitted by the unseen hand of Providence to finish his labours in the full privileges of a bishop, though not unopposed.

As a link in the chain of witnesses, Claudius has a very distinct place. His influence was great and widely spread. Theodemir, abbot of a monastery near Nismes, ingenuously confesses, says Milman, that most of the great transalpine prelates thought with Claudius. And the hostility to the Romish Church and her many sacraments, which afterwards prevailed in the Alpine valleys, has been generally traced to the reformer, Claudius. He died in the year 839.

PETROBRUSSIANS.

2. About the year 1110, a preacher, named **Peter de Brueys,** began to declaim against the corruptions of the dominant Church

and the vices of the clergy. As a missionary, he laboured chiefly in the south of France, Provence, and Languedoc. And, what may seem strange to us, he was allowed to disseminate his new doctrines with impunity for about twenty years. The enemy could neither silence nor kill the witness until his testimony was finished. But as nearly all we know of such men comes to us through the writings of their adversaries, we only hear of what were called their heresies. The venerable abbot of Cluny wrote a treatise against Peter's followers—thence called *Petrobrussians*; they are charged with many offences, but which may be reduced to the following—opposition to infant baptism, to the mass, celibacy, crucifixes, transubstantiation, and the efficacy of prayers for the salvation of the dead. But nothing which the founder of this sect did or said seemed to rouse the public feeling against him until he burned a number of crosses bearing the image of Christ. The priests then succeeded, a popular tumult was raised, and he was burned alive at St. Gilles, in Languedoc. But his protest was not so easily consumed. Divine light may be overshadowed for a time, but it can never be extinguished.

HENRICIANS.

3. The fire which burned Peter de Brueys neither discouraged nor silenced his followers. One of these, named **Henry, a monk of Cluny,** and a deacon, became a more daring and a more powerful preacher than Peter. In the retirement of his monastery he had devoted himself to the study of the New Testament; and having gained a knowledge of Christianity from the pure Word of God, he longed to go forth into the world to proclaim the truth to his fellow-men. His personal appearance, and his private education, combined to make his preaching most powerful and awakening. The rapid change in his countenance is likened to a stormy sea; his stature was lofty, his eyes were rolling and restless; his powerful voice, his naked feet and neglected apparel, attracted an attention, which was fixed by the fame of his learning and his sanctity. In years he was but a youth, yet his deep tones, his wonderful eloquence, with his remarkable appearance, appalled the clergy and delighted the people. In the spirit of a John the Baptist he called upon the people to repent, and turn to the Lord, and not unfrequently assailed the unpopular vices of the clergy.

But the opposition which Henry encountered from the clergy only attracted the people the more towards him. Multitudes, both of the poorer and the wealthier classes, received him as their spiritual guide in all things. He is first heard of historically at Lausanne, but he traversed the south of France from Lausanne to Bordeaux; and, as Neander observes, "he chained the people to himself, and filled them with contempt and hatred towards

the higher clergy—they would have nothing to do with them. The divine service celebrated by them was no longer attended. They found themselves exposed to the insults and gibes of the populace, and had to apply for protection to the civil arm." The prudent Bishop of Le Mans, seeing the influence he had gained over the people, contented himself with simply directing Henry to another field of labour. The zealous monk quietly withdrew, and made his appearance in Provence, where Peter de Brueys had laboured before him. Here he developed still more clearly his opposition to the errors of the Church of Rome, and drew down upon himself the bitter hostility of the hierarchy.

Henry was apprehended by the Archbishop of Arles ; he was condemned as a heretic by the Council of Pisa, which was held in 1134, and sentenced to confinement in a cell. In a short time he escaped, and returned to Languedoc. Desertion of Churches, it is said, total contempt of the clergy, followed the eloquent heresiarch wherever he went. A legate, named Alberic, was sent by Eugenius III to subdue the revolt ; but his mission would have been fruitless had he not prevailed on Bernard to share with him the labour and the glory of the enterprise. " Henry is an antagonist," he said, " who can only be put down by the conqueror of Abelard and of Arnold of Brescia."

The powerful Abbot of Clairvaux wrote to the prince of the Provence to prepare for his arrival, and signifying the object of his coming. " The Churches," he wrote, " are without people ; the people without priests ; the priests without honour ; and Christians without Christ. The Churches are no longer conceived holy, nor the sacraments sacred, nor are the festivals any more celebrated. Men die in their sins—souls are hurried away to the terrible tribunal—without penitence or communion ; baptism is refused to infants, who are thus precluded from salvation." The abbot wrought miracles, as was believed ; the people wondered and admired. Henry fled ; Bernard pursued, purifying the places infected by the pestilence of heresy. At length the heretic was seized ; he was handed over in chains to the Bishop of Toulouse, who consigned him to prison, where he soon afterwards died suddenly. He was thus delivered from all his persecutors in the year 1148, and entered into his rest.

VAUDOIS, ALBIGENSES, WALDENSES.

4. The origin of the Western sectaries, so-called, under the common name of **Waldenses,** has been the subject of much controversy. One class of writers, favourable to Romanism, with the view of involving them in the common charge of Manicheism, have endeavoured to prove that their opinions were of Eastern, or Paulician origin ; while the opposite party affirm that they were free from the Manichean error, and that

they have been the inheritors and maintainers, from father to son, of a pure and Scriptural Christianity, from the time of Constantine, if not from the days of the apostles.*

But as it is not so much our object at present to trace the history of these ancient, simple, and devoted Christian people, as to bring out another feature of the Papacy under Innocent, in its most fully expressed blasphemy and cruelty, we will merely satisfy the reader as to who these people were, and as to the scene of their slaughter. "The terms," says Dr. Gully, "Vaudois in French, Vallenses in Latin, Valdisi in Italian, and Waldenses in English ecclesiastical history, signify nothing more or less than '**men of the valleys**;' and as the valleys of Piedmont have had the honour of producing a race of people who have remained true to the faith introduced by the first missionaries who preached Christianity in those regions, the synonyms have been adopted as the distinguishing names of a religious community, faithful to the primitive creed, and free from the corruptions of the Church of Rome."

The **Albigenses,** though essentially one with the Waldenses in matters of faith, were so called because the greater part of Narbonnese-Gaul which they inhabited was called Albigesium, or from Albi, a town in Languedoc. The Alps separated the two communities. God found an asylum for the Waldenses in the valleys on the eastern side, and for the Albigenses in the valleys on the western side, of that great mountain range, where they were preserved and fortified for many centuries.

PETER WALDO.

From a similarity of names, Peter Valdo, or Waldo, the reformer of Lyons, has frequently been spoken of as the first founder of the Waldensian sect. This we think a mistake, but one easily made, and one which the Romanists eagerly improved as an argument against their antiquity, and one which has been adopted by most of the general histories. But Mr. Elliot, in his "Horæ Apocalypticæ," and those mentioned in the note above, have examined the question with great patience and research, and, we believe, clearly established the conclusion of the orthodoxy and the antiquity of the "men of the valleys." †

At the same time **Peter Waldo** is worthy of all praise for his self-denying services in the cause of truth, and against error. His piety, zeal, and courage were most conspicuous at a period

* In the first volume of "Short Papers," p. 303, the following sentence occurs: "It also appears very certain that the Albigneses of the southern provinces of France owe their origin to the Paulicians." Most of the general histories are calculated to give this impression; but after consulting the special histories and laborious researches of Peter Allix, D.D., W. S. Gilly, M.A.; W. Beattie, M.D., and others, we are fully persuaded of their great antiquity, the purity of their faith, and their Alpine locality—that they existed as a distinct Christian people long before the Paulicians, or even the Papacy.

† See Marsden's "Dictionary," "Albigenses;" Milner, vol. iii., p. 92; Bartlett's "Scenery of the Waldenses," Introduction.

when the Papal hierarchy began to persecute all who questioned its authority and infallibility. He was no doubt raised up of God just at that time to give greater distinctness to the testimony of the Alpine peasants. The simplicity of their worship, and the scene of their tranquillity appear not to have excited the jealousy of their neighbours or the suspicion of the universal Church till about this time. It happened, under the hand of God, in this way.

About the year 1160 the practices of idolatry which accompanied the doctrine of transubstantiation deeply impressed Peter with an alarming sense of the wickedness of the times, and the dangerous corruptions of the Papacy. This led to the true conversion of his soul to God. From that moment he was devoted to His service and His glory. He abandoned his mercantile occupations, and distributed his wealth to the poor, in imitation of the early disciples. Numbers gathered around him ; he felt the need of instruction in the things of God ; where was it to be found ? He became deeply desirous to understand the Gospels which he had been accustomed to hear in Church. He employed two ecclesiastics to translate them into the native tongue, with some other books of Scripture, and some passages of the fathers. This was Waldo's greatest work, for which he deserves the best thanks of posterity. The Scriptures at that time were in a great measure a sealed book in Christendom, being only in the Latin tongue. The followers of Waldo, being thus provided with copies of the Scriptures in their own tongue, they were able to explain to the people that they were not advancing doctrines of their own, but a pure faith as it really existed in the Bible. After the manner of the seventy, he sent out his disciples, two by two, into the neighbouring villages to preach the Gospel.

This awoke the thunders of the Vatican. As long as Waldo and his friends confined themselves to their own protest against the innovations, the hierarchy did not seriously molest them ; but as soon as they employed that dreaded engine, the Scriptures in the vulgar tongue, they were immediately anathematized and excommunicated. As yet they contemplated no secession from the Church, but only its reformation. They persisted in preaching the glorious Gospel of the grace of God to lost sinners ; an interdict was issued against them by the Archbishop of Lyons. Waldo resolutely replied, " We must obey God rather than man." From that time " the poor men of Lyons," as they were called, were branded by the clergy with obloquy and contempt as heretics. For three years after his first condemnation, which took place in 1172, Waldo contrived to remain concealed in the city of Lyons or its neighbourhood, but Pope Alexander the Third fulminated his threats and terrors so effectually, not only against Waldo, but against all who should dare to hold the

slightest communication with the reformer, that, for his friends' sake, he fled from Lyons, and became a wanderer for the rest of his life. After seeking a shelter in several places, but finding a resting-place in none, he passed from among the Bohemian mountaineers, the ancestors of Huss and Jerome, into his eternal rest about the year 1179.

THE DISPERSION OF WALDO'S FOLLOWERS.

When Waldo fled, his disciples followed him. The dispersion took place similarly to that which arose on the occasion of Stephen's persecution. The effects were also similar; the blessed Gospel was more widely disseminated throughout Europe. Their great strength was their possession of the sacred Scriptures in their own language. They read the Gospels; they preached and they prayed in the vulgar tongue. Many of them, no doubt, found their way to the valleys of Piedmont and the cities of Languedoc. A new translation of the Bible was doubtless a rich accession to the spiritual treasures of that interesting people.

The scene was now ready for Pope Innocent: the Papal threatenings having been transmitted to his vigorous hand, were executed with a willing and unrelenting mind. He who had humbled the great kings of Germany, France, and England, and had received implicit submission from almost every part of Christendom, was still disowned as supreme head of the Church by the Waldenses wherever they were found. It was not likely that such a spirit as Innocent's would continue to endure with calmness this resistance to his boasted universal supremacy. But what was their crime? Where were they to be found? And how were they to be dealt with?

1. They had the highest reputation everywhere, even from their worst enemies, for modesty, frugality, honest industry, chastity, and temperance. "In no instance," says a high authority, but not very favourable to what he calls the anti-sacerdotalists, "are the morals of Peter Waldo and the Alpine Bible-Christians arraigned by their bitterest foes." Their mortal sin was found in their appeal to the Scriptures, and to the Scriptures alone, in all matters of faith and worship. They rejected the vast system of tradition-religion, as maintained by the Church of Rome. Both in life and in doctrine they were noble witnesses for Christ and the simplicity of the Gospel; but they formed a powerful protest against the wealth, the power, and the superstitions of the dominant religion. They rejected the almost innumerable sacraments of Rome, and maintained that they were only two in the New Testament—baptism and the Lord's Supper. In general we may say that they anticipated and held the same doctrines which, after the lapse of three

centuries, were to be promulgated by the Reformers of Germany and England, and which form the creed of Protestants at the present time.

2. The progress of "**the poor men of Lyons,**" after their persecutions, appears to have been rapid, and widely extended. They spread abroad, we are told, into the south of France, into Lombardy, and into Arragon. "In Lombardy and Provence," says Robertson, "the Waldenses had more schools than the Catholics; their preachers disputed and taught publicly, while the number and importance of the patrons whom they had gained, rendered it dangerous to interfere with them. In Germany they had forty-one schools in the diocese of Passau, and they were numerous in the dioceses of Metz and Toul. From England to the south of Italy, from the Hellespont to the Ebro, their opinions were widely spread." *

3. Such was the state of things on the accession of Pope Innocent III. With anxious forebodings, and a far-seeing eye, he watched this spirit of religious independence, but how to crush it effectually was the question. Besides, at that time, as the reader will remember, his hands were full. He was seeking to destroy the balance of power in Germany and Italy, he was contending with the kings of France and England by turns, he was directing the march of the Crusaders, and overturning by their means the Greek Empire at Constantinople; yet he was watching, and determined to punish every dissent from the tenets of the Church of Rome, and every exercise of the thinking faculty on religious subjects. It was loudly rumoured about this time that the two principal seats of this disaffection towards Rome were the valleys of Piedmont and the south of France. The Piedmontese Christians flourished in comparative obscurity, while the Albigenses were rendered more notorious, as well as more dangerous, by the protection afforded them in the wealthy cities of Languedoc. **Raymond VI,** Count of Toulouse, not only favoured those of the Waldensian creed as the best of his subjects, but employed them in his family, though avowedly himself a Roman Catholic. The Count of Foix was married to a Waldensian; of his two sisters, one was said to be a Waldensian, and the other a Catharist, or Puritan.

THE REGION OF ALBI.

The name of *Languedoc* was given to these remote provinces of the kingdom, because of the rich, melodious, and flexible language which was then vernacular there. In refinement, wealth, and liberty, both political and religious, they surpassed all the rest of France. The old Roman civilisation still lingered in the valleys of Languedoc and Provence. The feudal chieftains,

* J. C. Robertson, vol. iii., pp. 179-202; Waddington, vol. ii., p. 187; Sir J. Stephen's "History of France," vol. i., p. 218.

especially the Counts of Toulous and Foix, though owning the king as lord paramount, possessed and exercised sovereign authority in their own domains. By the favour of Raymond, and the indifference of the other chiefs, this beautiful region had advanced far more rapidly towards civilisation than any other part of Europe ; but this civilisation, observed Milman, was entirely independent of, or rather hostile to, ecclesiastical influence. The curse of Popery, as we have often seen, is not only ruinous to the souls of men, but destructive to all progress in the arts of life and in general civilisation. Even the face of a Catholic country seems blasted by its withering influence. The mind must be kept ignorant, superstitious, and enslaved, if Popery is to flourish. But for a long time the inhabitants of Languedoc had been left unmolested by the hierarchy of Rome, and, as a natural consequence, their cities were filled with a peaceful, industrious, and wealthy community.

But, on the other hand, as was most natural, in proportion as the Word of God and liberal opinions prevailed, the Church of Rome and the clergy sank into the greatest contempt. Nobles and knights no longer allowed their younger sons to be trained for the Church, but put sons of their serfs into benefices, and appropriated the tithes. Equally hated by the nobility and the common people for their grasping and unprincipled conduct, the priests could offer no resistance to the progress of the new opinions. They were no longer feared for their spiritual power, and they were despised for their **sensuality.** They became the song and the jest of the troubadours ; their spoiling of orphans, their swindling of widows, their dishonesty, gluttony, and drunkenness, were proverbial, and undeniable. "So sensible," says Robertson, "were they themselves of their ignominy, that they were fain to hide their tonsure by drawing the hair from the back of the head over it." The simplest peasant, on hearing of a scandalous action, was in the habit of saying : "I would rather be a priest than be guilty of such a deed."

So numerous were the seceders from Rome become, that they constituted the mass of the population. The Jews were also numerous and wealthy ; and, of course, a number of individuals properly of no sect, peopled the flourishing cities of Languedoc ; but we must now speak of them all under the common name of Albigenses.

INNOCENT AND THE ALBIGENSIAN PERSECUTION.

Such was the state of things in that sunny, peaceful, prosperous region, when a dark thunder-cloud gathered in the horizon. Innocent heard with dismay the progress of the new opinions, and resolved to crush them. With this object in view, he first of all addressed a letter to the prelates and princes

of southern France, exhorting them to take vigorous measures for the suppression of heresy; all heretics were to be anathematised and banished. But to Raymond and others such a merciless requisition appeared so arbitrary, that it met with little attention. "We have been brought up with these people," replied Raymond; "we have relations among them, we know that their life is honest; how can we persecute those whom we respect as the most peaceable and loyal of our people?" It was obvious that in such a sacrifice of the population the interests and the revenues of the princes were involved, and that it would amount to a process of extermination; but to this fearful process the supreme shepherd of Christ's flock did not hesitate to resort, however much the temporal sovereign might. The Albigenses were excommunicated, and placed under an anathema, which extended to every one who might lodge or shelter them, deal with them in trade, or join with them in social intercourse. But the disobedient Raymond still showed favour to his heretical subjects, and the enraged Pope, in consequence, next sent two legates—Reinerius and Guido—to inquire into the causes of the failure, and armed with full authority to extirpate the heretics. Many of these unoffending people were arrested, condemned, and committed to the flames; still Raymond was inactive, and the heresy grew and gathered strength.

What was to be done? New powers were demanded; sterner and more active agents were required. Raymond, an independent sovereign, and knowing the blameless character of his subjects, refused to execute the demands of Rome. Bernard, long the champion of the Papacy, was dead, but the Pope turned to his spiritual descendants. **Peter of Castelnau,** a Cistercian monk, was sent to Raymond as apostolic legate, in the year 1207, to demand that he should exterminate his heretical subjects with fire and sword. But the tolerant prince, who seems to have been a gay, pleasure-loving man, without strength of character to be either a heretic or a bigot, could not be aroused to obey the Papal mandate. Twice he refused, and twice he was excommunicated, and his dominions laid under a solemn interdict. Innocent sanctioned what his legate had done, and wrote a letter to Raymond, unexampled in the arrogance and insolence of its language. "Pestilent man! imperious, cruel, and direful tyrant; what pride has seized your heart, and what is your folly, to refuse peace with your neighbours, and to brave the Divine laws, by protecting the enemies of the faith? If you do not fear eternal flames, ought you not to dread the temporal chastisements which you have merited by so many crimes? For verily the Church can have no peace with the captain of freebooters and robbers—the patron of heretics—the contemner of the holy seasons—the friend of Jews and usurers—the enemy of the

prelates, and a persecutor of Jesus Christ and His Church. The arm of the Lord shall still be stretched out against thee, until thou art crushed to dust and atoms. Verily, He shall make thee feel how difficult it is to withdraw thyself from the wrath thou hast called down upon thine own head."

Such is a specimen of the vehemence of Papal invective in mediaeval times. And for what? the reader may inquire. Not for immorality, however bad he may have been; but because he refused to be the Pope's executioner, and shed the blood of his own peaceful, industrious, faithful subjects. But such was the power of these incarnate fiends, that Raymond was frightened into submission. He signed a treaty, most reluctantly, for the extermination of all heretics from his dominions. He was slow, however, in proceeding with the work of persecution. The legate perceiving this, could not conceal his rage, but broke out in the most reproachful language against the prince—called him a coward, accused him of perjury, and renewed the excommunication in all its plenitude. Need we wonder that a feudal prince was irritated to wrathful indignation by the daring impudence of the monk? He is reported to have exclaimed, in an unhappy moment, that he would make Castelnau answer for his insolence with his life. It is supposed that the menace was heard by one of his attendants, who, the following day, after an angry debate, drew his poniard, struck the legate in the side and killed him. The quarrel, as has been observed, assumed an aspect similar to that which raged a short time before this between Henry II of England and Thomas à Becket.

RAYMOND A SPIRITUAL OUTLAW.

Innocent had now obtained what he wished—a decent pretext for the full outpouring of the vials of his wrath. The honours of martyrdom were decreed to the victim; Raymond was denounced as the author of the crime, and proclaimed a spiritual outlaw; and the faithful were called upon to assist in his destruction. "Up, soldiers of Christ," he writes to Philip Augustus of France, "up most Christian King! Hear the cry of blood; aid us in wrecking vengeance on these malefactors. Up, ye nobles, knights of France, the rich and sunny lands of the south will be the reward of your valour." The preaching of the crusade was entrusted to the Cistercian Order, under their fanatical abbot, Arnold; "a man," says Milman, "whose heart was sheathed with the triple iron of pride, cruelty, bigotry." Just at this moment, the missionaries fell in with the notable Spaniard, **Dominic,** ever since famous as the founder of the *Inquisition* and the *Dominican* friars. His heart was in no wise softer than Arnold's, and he was more successful as a preacher. Not a moment was lost in denouncing the crime and its per-

petrators. Every heart and hand was engaged to take vengeance for the insult upon God in the person of His servant. The same indulgences which had ever been granted to the champions of the holy sepulchre were assured to those who should enter upon the new crusade against Raymond and the Albigenses. The clergy everywhere preached with indefatigable zeal this new way of obtaining the forgiveness of sins and everlasting life.

"To that ignorant and superstitious generation," says Sir James Stephens, "no summons could have been more welcome. Danger, privations, and fatigue, in their direst forms, had beset the rugged paths by which the Crusaders to the East had fought their way to the promised paradise. But in the war against the Albigenses the same inestimable recompense was to be won, not by self-denial, but by self-indulgence. Every debt owing to man was to be cancelled, every offence already committed against the law of God was to be pardoned, and an eternity of blessedness was to be won, not by a life of future sanctity, but by a life of future crime; not by the restraint, but by the gratification of their foulest passions; by satiating their cruelty, their avarice, and their lust at the expense of a people whose wealth excited their covetousness, and whose superiority provoked their resentment." Forward to this mingled harvest of blood and plunder, of priestly absolution and military fame, rushed all the wild spirits of the age. The whole of Europe resounded with preparations for the holy war.

THE HOME CRUSADE.

In the year 1209, in answer to the call of one man, and he professedly the chief pastor of the Church of Christ, three hundred thousand soldiers gathered around the infected provinces. Some of the writers of that age raise the number to half a million, and all wearing in solemn mockery the symbol of the Cross. They formed three great armies, over each of which presided an archbishop, a bishop, and mitred abbot. But eminent above all the leaders of this sacred war was the notorious Simon de Montfort, lord of a fief near Paris, and Earl of Leicester, in right of his mother, an English lady. Satan had skilfully selected his instruments—Innocent, Arnold, Dominic, and De Montfort are names of awful memory in history. It would be difficult to say which of the four hearts was most thoroughly sheathed in the triple iron.

Raymond, being wholly unprepared to meet such a host, took refuge in submission. The Pope promised absolution on certain conditions. But these were hard and cruel in the extreme. (1) He must clear himself of the murder of Castelnau; (2) as a proof of his sincerity he must surrender seven of his best castles; (3) that he should do public penance for his past offences; (4)

that he should in his own person became a crusader against his own subjects. The poor count complained of the terms imposed on him ; but such were the tender mercies of the Pope, and they must be rigorously fulfilled to the letter. He submitted and received absolution in St. Gilles in the presence of three archbishops and nineteen bishops. He next appeared in the cathedral where Castelnau was buried, with naked shoulders, and a rope round his neck, either end of which was carried by a bishop ; the scourge was then applied, not as a mere ceremony, but with hearty goodwill, till, covered with blood, the unhappy count was permitted to escape from his tormentors and from the vast crowd which had gathered to witness this almost incredible degradation of their suzerain lord. But this was not the worst penalty ; he was obliged to accompany the crusaders against his own loyal subjects, and against his nephew, Raymond-Roger, the Viscount of Beziers, whose territories were said to be full of the odious Albigenses.

The vindictive soul of the Pope being so far propitiated with having abased and duped his enemy, the mighty armament moved on. Three hundred thousand infuriated warriors poured into his beautiful states. "Forward," was the cry of the holy abbot, "you shall ravage every field ; you shall slay every human being ; strike and spare not. The measure of their iniquity is full, and the blessing of the Church is on your head." Thus instructed by the priest, De Montfort was prepared to act. The vast army marched through the land of vineyards, and of oliveyards, burning, slaying, ravaging, as they went. The peasantry were ridden down and slaughtered in cold blood.

THE SLAUGHTER AND BURNING OF BEZIERS.

Raymond-Roger, a gallant young man of twenty-four, displayed a braver spirit than his uncle, and resolved to defend his people against the crusaders. His two great cities, Beziers and Carcassonne, were his chief strength. He threw himself into the latter, the stronger place. "The soldiers of the Cross—the priests of the Lord," as they called themselves, appeared before Beziers ; which had been well provided and garrisoned by the viscount. The bishop of the place was in the army. He was allowed by Arnold to offer his advice to the people and recommend a surrender. "Renounce your opinions and save your lives," was the bishop's advice. But the Albigenses firmly replied that they would not renounce a faith which gave them the Kingdom of God and His righteousness. The Catholics joined with the heretics in declaring that, rather than surrender, they would suffer death in its worst form. "Then," said Arnold, "there shall not be left one stone upon another. Fire and sword shall devour men, women, and children." The town

fell into the hands of the besiegers, and fearfully was the injunction obeyed. The knights, pausing at the gates, asked the abbot how the soldiers were to distinguish Catholics from heretics. "Slay them all," he replied, "the Lord knoweth them that are His." The slaughter began. Men, women, children, clergy, were massacred indiscriminately, while the bells of the cathedral were rung till the slaughter was complete. Trembling multitudes fled to the Churches, in the hope of finding a sanctuary within the hallowed walls; but not one human being was left alive. The vast population of Beziers, who so lately had thronged the streets and marts, now lay in slaughtered heaps. The numbers thus slain are estimated variously from twenty to one hundred thousand. So many from the open country flee for refuge to the cities at such times, that numbers cannot be correctly estimated. The city was given up to plunder, and then set on fire.

Never did the dragon-abbot say a truer word than that "the Lord knoweth them that are His," though he said it in awful derision, and was himself an utter stranger to the remaining part of the verse, "And, let every one that nameth the Name of Christ depart from iniquity" (2 Tim. 2. 19). The Lord surely knows all who believe in Him, and infinitely precious to Him is the feeblest of His saints. And Arnold will one day see, in the same glory with their Lord, those whom he denounced as heretics and slew with the sword. What a day that will be when the persecutor and the persecuted, the accuser and the accused, shall stand face to face in the presence of Him who judges righteously! Till then, may we walk by faith, seeking only to please the Lord.

THE SIEGE OF CARCASSONNE.

From Beziers, of which nothing now remained but a burning pile, the crusaders moved on in the direction of Carcassonne. As they advanced, they found the country desolate. The terrible example of Beziers struck terror into all hearts. The inhabitants of the defenceless villages fled as they saw the smoking ruins of the strong city. Woes innumerable tracked the polluted steps of these dragon hosts. They stood before the walls of Carcassonne. Roger commanded in person, and sustained a long siege with great valour. **Simon de Montfort** was foremost in the assault. On the other side, Roger was seen exposing himself everywhere at the head of the defenders, and animating their courage by words and example. During forty days the siege was continued, and the besiegers were repulsed with great loss. But for the treachery of the abbot, Raymond-Roger would have triumphed. Thus matters stood.

The soldiers of the Cross were only required to serve forty days, both by feudal law and in order to gain all the privileges of

crusaders. At the end of this period many of the leaders and the great mass of the troops returned home disappointed and dissatisfied. The excessive heat, the scantiness of water, the infected atmosphere from the unburied dead, the rapacity, cruelty, and perfidy of the priests, led many to welcome the close of their feudal term. In these extremities and surrounded with disorderly troops, the abbot had recourse to craft—the wiles of Satan. The noble and brave viscount was decoyed into a conference. On the oath of the legate and the barons of the army that good faith would be maintained, Roger came out with three hundred of his followers. But with so formidable a heretic faith was not to be kept. And just as he was beginning to propose terms, the legate exclaimed that no faith was to be kept with one who had been so faithless to his God ; and ordered the viscount to be put in chains and cast into prison with his followers. But he was soon relieved form his humiliation and suffering by death, which was popularly attributed to the hand of Simon. The people, dismayed by the loss of their chief, abandoned the city and escaped by means of a subterranean passage, but the priests consoled themselves by seizing about four hundred of the citizens, whom they hanged and burned for the common offence of heresy.

The city of Carcassone and the princely heritage of Raymond-Roger were now in the hands of the Papal party, and according to the law of conquest entirely at their disposal. The legate and his clergy presented these rich lands to Simon de Montfort, as the firstfruits of a glorious victory over the heretics ; and he was hailed as Viscount of Beziers and Carcassonne, promising to hold his dignities and territories on condition of a yearly tribute to the Pope as liege lord of the conquered territories.

The election of Simon was confirmed by the Pope, though the great principles of justice and the faith of treaties were so glaringly and shamelessly violated ; but the King of Arragon, as suzerain, refused to invest Simon in his new possessions. The conquest appeared to be complete, but it was not really so. The Duke of Burgundy, the Count of Nevers, and other French noblemen, withdrew from the crusade, being greatly offended with the arrogance of the Pope's mercenaries. De Montfort, being thus left with a comparatively small force, was unable to maintain his position. Many cities and castles that had been taken by the Papal party were again lost, and an incessant war was carried on ; now marked by the fierce exasperation of the people, and the most relentless cruelties on both sides. De Montfort wrote in despair to the prelates of Christendom for a fresh army.

The trumpet of Rome was again sounded. A fresh crusade was preached. " **Swarms of monks**," says Greenwood, " issued from the numberless cells and monasteries of the Cistercian order,

preaching perdition to heretics, and boundless pardons to all who should shed the blood—were it only of one—of the accursed brood. There was no crime so black, no vice so rooted in the heart, but that a forty-days' campaign against these outcasts would wipe it away, even to the last trace of guilt, nor leave the faintest sense of remorse behind." Attracted by the promise of great earthly spoils in the sunny south, and of the eternal felicity in Heaven, unnumbered troops of fanatics flocked to the standard of De Montfort. In the spring of 1210 he received a large reinforcement under the command of his wife, and the war recommenced with fresh fury.

THE RUIN OF RAYMOND DETERMINED.

The submission of Count Raymond to the Papal terms of reconciliation appears to have been complete. He had surrendered his castles, had undergone the basest personal humiliation, and had accompanied the crusaders, nothwithstanding his bleeding shoulders, against his own kinsman Roger. Surely the Church will be satisfied, express her approbation, and receive him back into her bosom. But, alas, it was just the opposite. True, the Pope in the most treacherous manner professed to embrace him as his obedient son, absolved him from his alleged guilt as to the murder of Castelnau, and gave him a cloak and a ring. With these valuable presents the count returned to his own country, in the hope that the Pope's concessions would be confirmed by his legates. But here history has lifted the veil, and revealed the most deliberate and avowed treachery that ever blackened the policy of any ruler. In a letter written by this Pontiff to his legates in Toulouse, he refers to the words of the apostle in justification of his deceitful conduct, "Nevertheless, being crafty, I caught you with guile" (2 Cor. 12. 16). Thus he writes: "We counsel you with the Apostle Paul to employ guile with regard to this count; for in this case it ought to be called prudence. We must attack separately those who are separated from unity. Leave for a time this count of Toulouse, employing towards him a course of dissimulation, that the other heretics may be the more easily defeated, and that afterwards we may crush him when he shall be left alone."

The confiding but doomed count, as a matter of course, urged the fulfilment of the Pope's decree. But the crafty legates, Theodosius and Arnold, who were in their master's secret, had other intentions. They contrived delays, made demands, until the count found his case was hopeless in their hands. On being told that he had not cleared himself of the crimes of heresy and murder, and that they could not absolve him, he burst into tears; when the iron-hearted churchmen mocked his disappointment, quoting the text: "Surely in the floods of great waters they

shall not come nigh unto him " (Psa. 32. 6), and pronounced his excommunication afresh.

THE REAL OBJECT OF THE CATHOLICS.

The reader has now before him the real, though then concealed, object of these Satan-inspired men. It is the old, the cruel story of Naboth and his vineyard. Jezebel must have the charming regions of the south as her own vineyard ; the blood of Naboth the Jezreelite must be shed. It will be seen from the Pope's secret injunctions to his legates, that the ruin, not only of Raymond, but of all the princes in Languedoc, was determined, and that he had deceived Count Raymond by a feigned reconciliation, so as to separate him from the rest of the Languedocian nobles, that they might be destroyed one by one with greater ease. This was the policy of Innocent as written by his own hand and still extant, and his legates were apt disciples of their master. But the spoils of the Count of Toulouse and all his partisans were a matter of necessity to Simon and his allies the legates. Nothing less than the whole south could satisfy the cupidity of De Montfort and the fanaticism of the rapacious priests. It was therefore determined to involve the Counts of Foix, Comminges, and Bearn, with all their territorial dependencies.

The **Count of Toulouse** was suzerain of five great subordinate fiefs. The courts of these petty sovereigns vied with each other in splendour and gallantry. Life, we are told, was a perpetual feast or tournament. Some of them had been amongst the most distinguished of the Crusaders in the East, and had brought home many usages of Oriental luxury. It was no question with such of either heretic, Waldensian, or Albigensian. They were good Catholics outwardly ; but their religion really was chivalry, and the music of the troubadour. Still, there were some honourable exceptions. We can trace the *silver line* of God's rich sovereign grace in the courts of these gay princes. We read of **Almeric,** lord of Montreuil, and his sister, the Lady Geralda of Vetville, who were Albigenses, and who defended their own cities against the catholics, but were overpowered ; and these lords and ladies with many others were instantly destroyed. Almeric, with eighty nobles, was brought before De Montfort. He ordered them all to be hanged. The overloaded gibbets broke down ; they were hewn to pieces ; the Lady Geralda was thrown into a well and huge stones rolled down upon her. Only a few escaped the general massacre of Vetville to tell the tale. But the whole country shared a similar fate. The true Christian, the gay courtier, the gallant knight, the pleasure loving multitude who were too enervated through the influence of the luxurious habits of the country to be either heretic or bigot—must either submit to the Pope's terms, or to the halter, the stake, or the faggot.

Every department of the south was now charged with the guilt of sheltering heretics ; and Raymond as suzerain lord was summoned to appear before a council at Arles. All concealment of their savage iniquity was now thrown off. The count was accompanied by his friend, Pedro, King of Arragon, a good and devoted Catholic, who pleaded his cause and offered to become security for his fidelity. Their terms of reconciliation were these: Let the reader note them carefully as a sample of Popish arrogance and audacity in those days : " That Count Raymond should disband his army ; that he should raze all his castles, recall all the commandants of his walled towns and strong places ; that he should renounce all the tolls and dues from which the principal part of his revenue was derived ; that he should compel all gentry and commonalty of his domains to wear a penitential garb ; that he should deliver up all his subjects suspected of heresy to be converted or burned, as the case might be ; that he should hold himself personally in readiness to pass over to Palestine to serve under the brotherhood of St. John of Jerusalem till recalled by the Pope ; that every head of a family should pay yearly fourpence to the legate ; that he should be obedient to the Church, pay all the expenses which they charge on him, and during his whole life submit himself without contradiction. All these terms duly fulfilled, his lands would be restored to him by the legate and the Count de Montfort." *

The intent of this fresh outrage was not to be mistaken ; the unhappy count, in defiance of the council's order, rode away, in company with his intercessor, the King of Arragon. Judgment was then given. " The Count of Toulouse was condemned as a declared heretic—an enemy of the Church, and an apostate from the faith ; and his domains and property, public or personal, were adjudged to the first occupants who should seize and appropriate them." These terms and decrees will give the reader some faint idea of how the Church, under the most sanctified language and pretensions, accomplished the ruin of a nobleman in those days, in order to obtain possession of his lands and his wealth. It was everywhere so. The prince and his people must be drowned in blood or consumed in fire, if his possessions cannot be obtained by milder means. Every Naboth must deliver up his field to Jezebel if she covets it. And before leaving this point, let the reader bear in mind, that, just at this moment, when the Pope and his legates were working the ruin of the count and his vassal chiefs, the inquisitors Dominic and Reinerius were busily engaged in a " religious reconnaissance of the whole area of heresy," having full authority from the Pope himself to inflict capital punishment upon heretics. That

* Greenwood, book xiii., chap. vii., p. 546 ; Milman, vol. iv., p. 218 ; Sir James Stephen's " Lectures," vol. i., p. 225.

dreadful tribunal, which then obtained, and yet retains, the name of the **Inquisition**, was first opened this year—a year of awful memory, A.D. 1210, in a castle near Narbonne.

THE WAR CHANGES ITS CHARACTER.

Count Raymond hastened to Toulouse ; he caused the ban of excommunication, with the hard terms of his absolution, to be publicly read aloud. The citizens were indignant, and declared that they would rather submit to the greatest extremities than accept such shameful conditions. As the news spread from town to town, the same enthusiasm prevailed throughout his dominions. The character of the war was now completely changed. It was evident to all that the crusaders were determined to conquer the provinces for the purpose of converting them into dependencies of the See of Rome ; and the provinces were equally determined to resist the crusaders as base hypocrites, and to cast off the cruel and usurping tyranny of Rome. The professedly religious purposes of the crusade had degenerated into a war of universal carnage and plunder. The whole nation was thus in a state of general insurrection against the dominant Church as against a foreign invader.

War was now proclaimed ; but the combatants were unequal. Raymond seems to have been a gentle, kindly, indolent monarch, much loved by his people ; and unambitious, save for the pleasures and gratifications of this life. There is no evidence that he was the least inclined to the Albigensian religion, but professedly a true Roman Catholic. On the other hand, Simon de Montfort, the great general of Rome, was considered the most daring and skilful military leader of his day, and the sworn champion of the Papacy. He was regular in the exercises of his religion, and heard mass daily. "But," observes one, "even with Simon's better qualities were combined some of the vices which not uncommonly seek their sanctification from high religious profession—a vast ambition, a daring unscrupulousness as to the means of pursuing his objects, a ruthless indifference to human suffering, and an excessive and undisguised rapacity." * At the head of a new host of crusaders, to execute the sentence of the Church, and to win the noble prize of Raymond's dominions he marched through the devoted land. Slaughter, rapine, and the most savage barbarities, such as may not be described, tracked his every step. Heretics, or those suspected of heresy, wherever they were found, were compelled by the legate Arnold and De Montfort to ascend vast piles of burning faggots, while the monks revelled in their sufferings and mocked the shrieks of burning women.

The whole country, as the Papal army advanced, became the

* J. C. Robertson, vol. iii., p. 351.

scene of the most wanton cruelties. They destroyed vineyards and growing crops, burnt villages and farmhouses, slaughtered unarmed peasants, women, and children. They spread desolation over the whole land, and then spoke of their sanctified zeal for religion. The exasperated people retaliated—nor need we wonder—and a savage war was waged on both sides. But details must be left to the civil historian. Having placed the real motives and objects of the Pope in this unparalleled outrage on humanity and religion, in as clear a light as brevity would allow, we will now only note a few of the principal engagements in this great struggle, which brought it to a close, and which manifest yet more fully the character of Simon and the monks of Citeaux, under the direction and sanction of the Pontiff.

THE BARBARITIES OF SIMON AND ARNOLD.

Simon de Montfort, as feudal lord of the Viscounty of Beziers and Carcassonne, was bound by his ecclesiastical tenure to extirpate the heretics. He therefore continued his campaign. Many towns and castles fell into his hands, some by force, some by panic. In the diocese of Albi, the chief seat of the obnoxious doctrines, the war was conducted with the most savage cruelty. When La Minerve, near Narbonne, after an obstinate defence, surrendered, one in whose heart a spark of humanity yet remained proposed that the vanquished should be allowed to retire, if they would recant their heresy; but such mild terms were objected to by the merciless monks. "The terms are too easy," they exclaimed, "we come to extirpate heretics, not to show them favour!" "Be not afraid," replied the abbot in cruel mockery, "there will not be many converts." And he was right, but not in the sense in which he spoke. His intention was to kill every one of them; but their intention, or rather, firm purpose was, to accept of death rather than the Papal terms. The Albigenses in the meantime were assembled for prayer. The abbot of Vaux-Cernay found a number of Christian women in a house quietly engaged in prayer and waiting for the worst that could befall them. They expected no mercy from these holy fathers, and were prepared to die. He also found a number of men on their knees in another house peacefully awaiting their end. The abbot began to preach to them the doctrines of Popery; but with one voice they interrupted him, and all exclaimed, "We will have none of your faith; we have renounced the Church of Rome. Your labour is in vain, for neither death nor life shall make us renounce the truth we hold." De Montfort was asked to speak to them. He visited both the men and the women, in all about one hundred and forty. "Be converted to the Catholic faith," he said, "or mount this pile." He had previously caused an enormous pile of dry wood to be raised.

Not one of the Albigenses wavered for a moment. They denied the supremacy of the Pope and the authority of the priesthood ; they owned no head but Christ, and no authority but His holy Word. Irritated to rage at their constancy and calm firmness, he ordered the fire to be lighted. The pile was soon one mass of flames. The undaunted confessors of the Name of Jesus, committing their souls into His hands, rushed voluntarily into the flames, as if ascending to Heaven in a chariot of fire.

When the castle called Brau capitulated, De Montfort plucked out the eyes of more than a hundred of the defenders, and otherwise shamefully mutilated them, leaving one of them one eye that he might lead away the rest. Not, says the abbot of Vaux-Cernay, that the count took pleasure in such things, "for of all men he was the mildest," but because he wished to retaliate on the enemy. Such was the judgment of the monkish historian. At **Lavaur,** the city of the good Roger Bernard, Count of Foix, the barbarities surpassed all precedent even in this fearful war. The count is claimed by the Waldenses as one of themselves. "Of all the provincial princes," says Milman, "the Count of Foix was the most powerful, and the most detested by the Church as a favourer of heretics. In this case the charge was an honour rather than a calumny. He was a man of profound religion ; the first to raise the native standard against De Montfort, he was a knight of valour as of Christian faith." At length the city fell into the hands of the besiegers. A general massacre was permitted ; men, women, and children were cut to pieces, till there remained nothing to kill except some of the garrison and others reserved for a more cruel fate. Four hundred were burned in one great pile, which caused universal rejoicing in the camp. And amid all this rioting in fiendish cruelty, the bishops and legates stood chanting, "Come, Holy Ghost." It was here that Lord Almeric with eighty nobles was brought before De Montfort, who ordered them to be hanged, as we have already seen. The pious Lady Geralda also suffered here ; of whom it is said, "No poor man ever left her door without being fed." *

THE SIEGE OF TOULOUSE.

From *the blazing pile of four hundred human beings* and gibbets overloaded with noble lords, the champion of the Church advanced to the siege of **Toulouse.** His numerous conquests had rather inflamed than satisfied his "undisguised rapacity." He hoped to add to his possessions the lordship of Toulouse, and thus to raise himself to a level with sovereign princes. The bishop Fouquet was in his camp. This new bishop of Toulouse, placed there to suit the Pope's purpose, is spoken of by historians

* "Latin Christianity," vol. iv., p. 223 ; Gardner's "Faiths of the World," "Albigenses."

as one of the most treacherous, cruel, sanguinary and unscrupulous men that ever breathed. Rabenstein was deposed to make room for him that he might work within the gates the ruin of the count, while the inquisitors and crusaders were doing it outside. But in spite of all the Popes' treachery and Simon's bravery, the tide of fortune was on the turn. The Count of Toulouse, under the stern discipline of prolonged calamity, showed that he was really gifted with courage and force of character. He had gathered around him his allies with their followers, who defended the city, and also made such bold sallies from the garrison that Simon was compelled to break up the siege. He revenged himself by wasting the gardens and vineyards, and fields. The state of matters was now completely changed. Raymond, instead of acting on the defensive, became the active and energetic assailant ; and before a few months had elapsed, he recovered most of the places which had been seized by the crusaders. The forty-days' feudal principle caused continued fluctuations in Simon's army, and no doubt prevented him from improving his advantages to the full, so that his successes were chequered by occasional reverses. The triumph of Raymond, however, was but a temporary respite, and the prelude to a terrible defeat.

A fresh crusade was preached in Germany and northern France ; many adventurers, trained in the wars of Germany and of the East, now joined the new army. All temporal blessing in a beautiful country, with Heaven at last, induced numbers to assume the cross. The archbishops of Rheims and Rouen, the Bishops of Paris, Laon, Toul, were with them ; and William, Archdeacon of Paris, was the chief engineer of the army. The poor discouraged Albigenses at the approach of such a myriad host, fled from the open country, and sought a refuge either among the woods and mountains, or in the large cities. Raymond, feeling his own weakness, sought the alliance of his kinsman, Don Pedro, King of Arragon. The gallant Spaniard promised him his support, but before engaging in the war he made an appeal to the Pope in favour of Raymond.

Moved by the king's appeal, and becoming jealous of the growing power of De Montfort, his holiness, for a moment, seemed disposed to alter his line of policy. He intimated his displeasure to the legates. They had, he said, laid hands on territories that had never been polluted with heresy. He commanded the restitution of the lands of the Counts of Foix and Comminges, and of Gaston de Beran. He also suspended his indulgences to the crusaders. But all this appearance of justice or pity was mere sentiment in the mind of the Pope. He very soon revoked all his own concessions. The letters of his legates and inquisitors were absolutely furious. "Arm yourself, my

lord Pope, with the zeal of Phineas ; annihilate Toulouse, that Sodom, that Gomorrah, with all the wretches it contains ; let not the tyrant, the heretic, Raymond, nor even his young son, lift up his head. Already more than half-crushed, crush them to the very utmost. The purification of Languedoc must not be thought of until the city of Toulouse be razed to the ground, and the citizens but to the sword. If the Raymonds be allowed to lift up their heads, they will take unto themselves seven other devils worse than the first. Let your apostolic wisdom provide against this evil ; let not your hand be withheld from this holy and pious work until the serpent of our Moses shall have swallowed up the serpents of this Pharaoh ; until the Jebusite with all the uncircumcised and impure be dispersed, and your people rejoice in the quiet possession of the land of promise."

THE POPE TEMPORIZES—THE BATTLE OF MURET.

The Pope was in a difficulty ; he yielded to a necessity. He alone had called forth the movement ; but the power to control it had slipt from his hold. His agents were only carrying out his instructions ; he had no right to complain. Making a virtue of necessity, he sharply rebuked **the King of Arragon**—the chief supporter of the Catholic cause in Spain—charged him with misrepresentation, threatened him with a crusade, and confirmed his sentence of excommunication against Raymond and his allies. De Montfort was proclaimed the active servant of Jesus Christ, and the invincible champion of the Catholic faith. He was also authorised to retain his conquests. The patience of the long-suffering King of Arragon was now exhausted, and, provoked by the insolence of the clergy, he flew to arms. At the head of a thousand knights and a large army, he crossed the Pyrenees, and encountered the crusaders at the little town of Muret, about nine miles from Toulouse. At the head of the warriors of the cross, attended by seven bishops, appeared Simon de Montford in full military array. "His army," says Greenwood, "though fewer in numbers, consisted of the heavy-armed chivalry of France, eager, by victory over the heretical host, to earn immortal honour, or by martyrdom to be wafted into the presence of the saints in paradise." The battle which followed was fierce, short, and decisive. Don Pedro with many of his nobles was numbered with the slain. The remnant of his army, deprived of his command, broke and dispersed ; and the whole of the raw and ill-armed militia of Raymond and his allies were either put to the sword of drowned in the Garonne to the last man.

The cause of the Albigenses in consequence of the great **Victory of Muret** had now become desperate, and the fate of the devoted land appeared to be decided for ever. Raymond was stripped

of his territories. De Montfort was acknowledged as prince of the fief and city of Toulouse, and of the other counties conquered by the crusaders under his command. Overwhelmed by his misfortunes, and by the censures of the Church, Raymond offered no opposition. Fouquet, the Pope's bishop, took possession of the palace of his ancestors, and, with a cruel impudence which no language can describe, ordered the noble count and his family to retire into obscurity. Such *were* and *are* the tender mercies of the Romish priesthood, even to their own flock if reckoned disobedient. For Raymond never was accused of heresy, only of sheltering heretics in his dominions, or, in other words, of refusing to massacre in cold blood his most dutiful and loyal subjects. This was his whole crime in the sight of Rome, as Heaven will surely judge.

THE CONQUERORS QUARREL AMONG THEMSELVES.

The conquest appeared to be complete, and the conquerors began to divide the spoil ; but Arnold and De Montfort quarrelled about **the ducal crown of Narbonne.** Each claimed the dukedom. The legate had assumed the Archbishopric of Narbonne, to which he affirmed the right of temporal sovereignty were attached ; but De Montfort, who took to himself the title of Duke of Narbonne, felt indignant that a priest should lay claim to that temporal authority which he asserted was all his own as prince and sovereign of the whole land. The quarrel became serious. Simon branded Arnold and all his adherents as heretics, invaded the prelate and took possesson of the city by force of arms. The legate, exercising his spiritual authority, excommunicated the great crusader, and laid all the Churches of the city under an interdict. The Pope, regarding with jealousy the formidable power of these great rivals, and not feeling equal to interfere in this strife, convened—A.D. 1215—the fourth **Lateran Council,** in order to bring to an end the crusade against the Albigenses, and finally to dispose of the conquered territories.

This was the most numerous council ever held in Christendom. But we must not venture even on the faintest description of its proceedings. We would only notice what immediately affects our present subject. " Raymond and his son, accompanied by the Counts of Foix and Comminges, and many other nobles of Languedoc were admitted to the presence of the Pope, seated in full consistory among his cardinals and other prelates. They knelt before him. The young Raymond presented letters from his uncle the King of England. The English monarch expressed his indignation at the usurpation of the inheritance of Raymond by Simon de Montfort. The Pope was moved by the beauty and graceful bearing of the young prince, thought of his wrongs, and was observed to shed tears." This noble youth of the old

ancestral house of Toulouse, and connected by blood or marriage with all the sovereigns of Europe, and who had never been accused of the taint of heresy in any way, had been robbed and spoiled by the Pope's agents, and driven into exile. The son was followed by the father, and the other counts, who complained of the injustice of the legate and of De Montfort; of the pillage of their lands and the lawless massacre of their subjects. The enormous cruelties of Fouquet were dwelt upon by all the witnesses, whom they denounced as the destroyer of more than *ten thousand* of the flock intrusted to his pastoral care.

Something like pity seemed for a moment to touch the heart of Innocent on hearing the depositions of so many noble witnesses, and all professedly Catholics. Many members of the Council were also touched with remorse, and spoke in favour of the dispossessed princes. But this tendency to something like justice on the part of the Council raised the indignation of Simon's partisans to the most vehement height. They assured his holiness that, if the legate and De Montfort were compelled to surrender the territories and lordships which they had, no one henceforth would ever embark in the cause of the Church; no one would ever be found to run any hazard in her defence. Still the Pope seemed disposed to listen to the complaints of the princes; and raising his voice, said: "I give leave to Raymond of Toulouse and his heirs to recover their lands and their lordships from all who hold them unjustly." The prelates were furious. The Pope stood dismayed before the power he had created, and by which he was now compelled into injustice. De Montfort was confirmed in all his conquests, with the exception of the territory of the Venaisin, which was reserved for the younger Raymond, if his conduct should satisfy the legate. Philip Augustus, acquiescing in this sentence, granted to Simon de Montfort the investiture of the Countships of Toulouse, of Beziers, and of Carcassonne, and of the Dukedom of Narbonne. Simon was now on the throne which he had reached through oppression, tyranny, and blood. He was proclaimed sovereign of Toulouse, and general of the armies of God, the son and darling of the Church. The clergy and people came out to meet him with the blasphemous salutation: "Blessed is he that cometh in the Name of the Lord." But the triumphing of the wicked is short; his end and his eternal award were near at hand.

THE LIES OF FOUQUET.

The decree of the Lateran Council, which prohibited the further preaching of the crusades, deprived De Montfort of fresh supplies. This changed state of affairs revived the spirit of the younger Raymond, who resolved to raise an army and make an heroic effort to regain the conquered dominions of his father.

He was soon at the head of a large force. The hope of deliverance from the cruelties of Simon, and attachment to their hereditary sovereigns, animated the whole population of Languedoc. De Montfort now treated Toulouse as a conquered city, exacting enormous sums, and endeavouring to secure them by the sternest measures. A general rising of the oppressed citizens was evident. But they unwisely accepted the treacherous mediation of their bishop, the perfidious Fouquet. He assured them that not a hair of their heads would be touched if they agreed to the terms of De Montfort. The citizens agreed, and thus he swore to them : " I swear by God, and the holy Virgin, and the body of the Redeemer, by my whole order, the abbot and other dignitaries, that I give you good counsel, better have I never given. If Count de Montfort inflict on you the least wrong, bring your complaints before me, and God and I will see you righted." How cruel! This is Popery. These were the sheep of his own pasture. We are not now speaking of the rights or the wrongs of the war, but of the perfidious falsehoods of the avowed shepherd of the sheep.

The people were now in the snare of Satan. They were treated as subjects detected in revolt, and punished by the bishop himself with all his relentless cruelty. The first act of De Montfort was " the demand of *thirty thousand* marks of silver, the demolition of the walls, and every stronghold in the city, and the plunder of the inhabitants to the very last piece of cloth, or measure of meal." Thus they had to spend the winter, but the ensuing spring brought relief.

THE DEATH OF DE MONTFORT.

On the appearance of the old Count and his son beneath the broken-down walls of Toulouse with a large army, fear gave way to the enthusiastic joy with which the people welcomed back the Raymonds to the palace and the dominions of their ancestors. Many of the nobles of Languedoc raised troops and threw themselves into the city. Simon and his son, Guy, hurried to the spot, but were ignominiously repulsed. The Bishop of Toulouse and the wife of Simon sought help in France. A new crusade was preached, but De Montfort could not keep an army more than forty days ; numbers flocked to the Raymonds. The siege lasted nine months ' it was the scene of many a fierce encounter. In the spring of 1218, De Montfort came against Toulouse with a fresh company of *one hundred thousand* crusaders. " You are about to conquer the city," said the lying spirit, " to break into the houses, out of which no single soul, neither man nor woman, shall escape alive ; not one shall be spared in Church, in sanctuary in hospital ! "

Such were the counsels of Rome, but God had decreed otherwise. When kneeling at high mass, a shout announced that the

besieged had made a sally. Instantly springing to his feet, Simon placed himself at the head of his veterans and hastened to the place of attack. But little did he think it was for the last time. At that moment he was wounded by an arrow from the city walls. This evidently troubled him in spirit. He retired a few paces, when a fragment of a rock, thrown from a machine struck him on the head and severed it from his body. As the lifeless trunk lay on the ground, his admirers dared to reproach God with his death, and to arraign the Divine justice. But there we must leave them. Simon is before God, and has learnt his eternal doom.

The siege was raised, the besieging army was entirely defeated. The bell was tolled to call the citizens to offer thanksgivings in tumults of exultation. Raymond was hailed as their lawful and now undisputed sovereign; and again the standard of the house of St.Gilles waved above the palace and the ramparts of Toulouse.

THE KINGS OF FRANCE AND THE ALBIGENSES.

Innocent III was now dead, and the Papal throne was occupied by the third **Honorius,** who entered with great ardour into the cause of De Montfort, and was warmly supported by the kings of France. The prospect of peace to the poor Albigenses under the mild government of Raymond was intolerable to the new shepherd of Rome. To gratify the infuriated Pope, and under pretence of fulfilling his vow and ensuring his eternal welfare, Louis, son of Philip Augustus, conducted a crusade as early as the year 1219. All the atrocities of the former time were renewed and surpassed, if possible, under the direction of the clergy. But we spare the reader the description of the Satanic mixture of deceit, hypocrisy, perfidy, baseness, and savage cruelty displayed by the clergy under the sanction of the sovereign.

The elder Raymond died, leaving the defence of his states to his son, then in the vigour of his age and hopes. It is said by Milner, "that he died of sickness, in a state of peace and prosperity, after his victory over Simon—that no man was ever treated with more injustice by the Popedom." Philip Augustus also died, leaving his crown to Louis. The younger De Montfort, in the year 1224, despairing of success, finally abandoned Languedoc, and Raymond VII sat on the throne of his ancestors, with no enemy to dread, excepting the Pope and his sovereign—his pastor and his liege lord. But Raymond had a beautiful portion in France, and Louis was impatient to unite it to his crown.

Jezebel again plots. She convenes a council at **Bourges,** in the year 1225, at which Louis is enjoined to purge the land of heretics, and raises money for that purpose. Louis accordingly takes the cross, and attended by his barons and their followers, to the number of two hundred thousand men, advances once

again to devastate the budding fields of Languedoc, and to exterminate all heretics according to the decrees of Rome. Poor unhappy Languedoc! When will Rome, the dragon, the devourer of God's saints, be satiated with blood?—with the blood of infants, of little children, of mothers and maidens, of unarmed, unoffending young men and fathers! A name could be given to the beast that symbolises the Chaldean, Persian, and Grecian Empires, but the fourth beast which symbolised the Romans, whether pagan or Papal, must be left unnamed. "After this I saw in the night visions," says Daniel, "and, behold, a fourth beast, dreadful and terrible, and strong exceedingly: and it had great iron teeth; it devoured and brake in pieces, and stamped the residue with the feet of it: and it was diverse from all the beasts that were before it, and it had ten horns" (Dan. 7. 7). As a matter of interpretation, Daniel's vision refers more directly to the civil power; but the ecclesiastical aspect of the beast as in Revelation is more blood-thirsty than the civil ever was.

This unnamed monster we have now before us in the King of France urged to extremities by the Pope. At the approach of the two hundred thousand crusaders under the banner of their own sovereign, the hearts of the people sank within them. Town after town yielded, for all the defenders had died. "They had so repeatedly endured all the horrors of war in all their most frightful forms, that the barons, knights, and communes of Languedoc, with one accord, hastened to avert, by timely concessions, the continuance of these intolerable calamities." But just at this moment when all seemed lost, the hand of the Lord interposed. A **pestilence** broke out in the invading camp. Louis himself was carried off, and thirty thousand of his soldiers were swept away by the contagion. The impending ruin of the inhabitants, and of the house of Raymond, was postponed for a little.

At the death of Louis VIII, his son, who was but a child, succeeded to the throne of France, and the reins of government meanwhile fell into the hands of his mother, **Blanche of Castile.** By her orders the siege of Toulouse was renewed. The advantages of the war were all in favour of Raymond. But the glory of his victories, according to one chronicler, were sullied by the cruelty with which he treated the vanquished who fell into his hands. The siege of Toulouse was protracted and difficult; the crusaders were losing hope. In their perplexity, Fouquet, the evil genius and the lying spirit of Toulouse, suggested the only means of a successful attack. By his advice all the vines, the corn, and the fruit trees were destroyed; all the houses burned for miles round the city, till the country was converted into a desolate wilderness, and the city of Toulouse stood in the centre of a desert. Of course no supplies of any kind could be procured,

This was the work of the bishop of the place, this was his diocese, these were the people over whom he had been appointed as overseer! The reader must judge whether he partakes more of the spirit of Daniel's fourth beast, or of Him who says to every shepherd, "Feed My sheep...Feed My lambs" (John 21).

When this new vial of Papal wrath was poured out on their devoted land, and every green thing withered up, the inhabitants of the city were so discouraged, and the spirit of Raymond their leader so completely broken, that at the end of three months peace was obtained on the most humiliating terms. The **Treaty of Paris,** which terminated the war for a time, was signed in the month of April, 1229. The terms were dictated by the Papal legate, and approved by the King of France. Raymond VII, whose comely form and graceful manners, together with the sense of his wrongs, drew tears from Innocent in the great Lateran Council, now bows his neck to a foreign yoke, and bares his shoulders to a spiritual despotism. He was led by the legate to the Church in Paris; and, like his father in St. Gilles, with naked shoulders and bare feet, he underwent the same public and ignominious flogging by priestly hands. On his knees, in the Church of Notre Dame, he solemnly abdicated all his feudal sovereignty to the King of France, and submitted to the penance of the Church. The reader may remember that the father in his penance renounced seven castles; now the son renounces seven provinces. Thus it was ordered by Him who rules over all, and ordered for the future humbling of Rome, that the peace of Languedoc turned not so much to the advantage of Rome, as of the rapidly increasing monarchy of France. Philip Augustus had wrested from the feeble hands of John the continental possessions of the English crown, and now the dominions of the Count of Toulouse, and of the King of Arragon, north of the Pyrenees, were added to the French crown. "The possession of Normandy," says James White, "had already made France a maritime power; and now, by the acquisition of the Narbonnais and Maguelonne from Raymond VII, she not only extended her limits to the Mediterranean, but, by the extinction of two such vassals as the Count of Toulouse and the Duke of Normandy, incalculably strengthened the royal crown." *

THE CALAMITIES OF LANGUEDOC.

To every thoughtful mind, to every man of faith, especially to those who study history from a Scriptural point of view, the wars in Languedoc are most suggestive. They are the first of the kind on record. It was reserved for Innocent III to inaugurate this new character of warfare. There had been many

* For fuller details both as to the Papal and the Albigensian side of this bloody warfare, see Du Pin, "Thirteen Century;" Sir J. Stephen's "Lectures," vol. i., pp. 214-242; Milman, vol. iv., pp. 167-238; J. White, pp. 282-289; J. C. Robertson, vol. iii., pp. 340-433; Milner, vol. iii., pp. 92-155; Gardner's "Faiths of the World," "Albigenses."

instances of individuals being sacrificed to the prejudice of the priesthood, such as Arnold of Brescia; but this was the first experiment on a great scale, which the Church made to retain her supremacy by force of arms. It was not, observe, *the army of the Church* going forth in holy zeal against the pagan, the Mohammedan, the denier of Christ, but **the Church itself in arms** against the true followers of Christ—against those who acknowledged His deity, and the authority of the Word of God.

We might fill pages with quotations from their worst enemies as to the soundness of their faith, the purity of their morals, and the simplicity of their manners. We will only give two or three from the highest authorities in the Church of Rome. "They denied," says Baronius, "the utility of infant baptism; that the bread and wine became the body and blood of the Lord by the consecration of a priest; that unfaithful ministers had any right to the exercise of ecclesiastical power, or to tithes or firstfruits; that auricular confession was necessary. All these things the wretched men asserted that they learned from the Gospels and Epistles, and that they would receive nothing, except what they found expressly contained therein; thus rejecting the interpretation of the doctors, though they themselves were perfectly illiterate." Reinerius, the inquisitor, and persecutor of the Albigenses, says, "they were the most formidable enemies of the Church of Rome, because they have a great appearance of godliness; because they live righteously before men, believe rightly of God in all things, and hold all the articles of the creed; yet they hate and revile the Church of Rome and the clergy; and in their accusations they are easily believed by the people." Bernard, who knew them intimately, lived amongst them, yet deemed it his duty to oppose them as being enemies to the Pope, candidly admits: "If you ask them of their faith, nothing can be more Christianlike; if you observe their conversation, nothing can be more blameless, and what they speak they make good by their actions. You may see a man, for the testimony of his faith, frequent the Church, honour the elders, offer his gifts, make his confession, receive the sacrament. What more like a Christian? As to life and manners, he circumvents no man, overreaches no man, does violence to no man. He fasts much and eats not the bread of idleness; but works with his hands for his support." *

Such, then, was the spiritual, moral, and social character of the Albigenses, as evidenced by their enemies. They were true witnesses for Christ, evidently formed by the grace of God to show forth His praise in the world. And had we as many of their writings as we have of the Reformers of the sixteenth century, we might find that they were more simple on certain

* See Milner and Gardner, as quoted above.

points of doctrine than these were. But according to the mind of the Lord, other three hundred years were necessary to ripen Europe for the Reformation ; and in the meantime the arts of printing and paper-making were discovered.

What, then, it may be asked, was the crime of the Albigenses ? The head and front of their offence was simply this : they denied the supremacy of the Pope, the authority of the priesthood, and the seven sacraments as taught by the Church of Rome ; and, in her eyes, greater criminals there could not be on the face of the whole earth ; therefore utter extermination was the one unchangeable decree. Those who escaped the sword of the Crusader must be caught in the **toils of the inquisitor.**

" In hundreds of villages," says the historian, " every inhabitant had been massacred. Since the sack of Rome by the Vandals, the European world had never mourned over a national disaster so wide in its extent, or so fearful in its character." What a record ! What a witness ! And if such be the records of earth, what must they be in Heaven ? Oh, Rome ! Rome ! drunken with the blood of God's saints, and covered with the execrations of millions, what must thy future be ? How wilt thou bear the reproaches of those whom thou hast deceived with thy lies and caused to perish with thy sword ? Do any think that we speak too strongly ? Let them listen to the address of one of the bishops to the Crusaders before the battle of Muret : " Whosoever has confessed his sins to a priest, or has the intention of doing so after the battle, will in dying, obtain eternal life, and escape the passage through Purgatory. I will be your surety in the day of judgment. Depart in the Name of Christ." Was not this a soul-deceiving lie ? But Jezebel will hear of it again. " For her sins have reached unto Heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities. Reward her even as she rewarded you, and double unto her double according to her works ; in the cup which she hath filled, fill to her double . . . Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death and mourning, and famine ; and she shall be utterly burned with fire ; for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her . . . And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth " (Rev. 18. 5-24).

But Rome overreached herself. Though Languedoc was desolate, the Albigenses who escaped the sword fled into other countries. By the grace and the good providence of God, they preached the Gospel in almost every part of Christendom, and testified against the cruelties, the superstitions, and the falsehoods of the Church of Rome. From this time it begins to lose its hold on the confidence and reverence of mankind. Thus the Lord prepared the way for Wycliffe and Huss, Melanchthon and Luther.

CHAPTER XXVI

The Inquisition Established in Languedoc

BY the Treaty of Paris, A.D. 1229, the open war against the Languedocians was at an end, but the **Inquisition** continued its secret, and hardly less destructive crusade. It was not enough that the treachery of Arnold and the sword of Montfort had exterminated these heretics ; steps must be taken to prevent their reappearance in all time coming. Dominic and his associates, although we have not seen them in the siege or in the battle, have been doing their dreadful work in secret. But now the Inquisition is to be canonised. At a Council held in Toulouse, in November, 1229, it was ordered that a permanent Inquisition should be established against the heretics. One of the canons indirectly reveals the root of Satan's rage, and reflects great honour on the name of the Albigenses, but throws a deep shade of guilt on the name of their persecutors. It was discovered by the inquisitorial missionaries, that the Bible was the principal source of their opinions ; therefore, to prevent its perusal by the people, the Council passed the following decree : " We prohibit the books of the Old and New Testament to the laity ; unless, perhaps, they may desire to have the Psalter, or Breviary, or the Hours of the blessed Virgin Mary ; but we expressly forbid their having the other parts of the Bible translated into the vulgar tongue." The Scriptures had long been withheld from the laity, but this is the first direct prohibition that we meet with.

The Papal interpretation of this canon, or justification of its severity, will give the reader a fair specimen of how the clergy quoted and applied Scripture in those days. " If so much as a beast touch the mountain, it shall be stoned or thrust through with a dart." The people were as beasts because of their ignorance ; the Word of God was as a mountain, and, if they dared to touch it, they were to be instantly killed. Innocent had a general acquaintance with Scripture, and used it largely in his letters and edicts, after this style ; but the Divine words, though misapplied, had an immense power over the ignorant mind. One grand object of the Inquisition was to keep the people in utter darkness as to the Divine mind on spiritual subjects, so that the power of the clergy might be unquestioned and absolute ; or, rather, the power of Satan, the prince of darkness. Not only was all public teaching suppressed by the

Council of Toulouse, but freedom of thought in secret was condemned under the severest penalties. It would be difficult to conceive of wickedness more daring : to withhold the Word of Life, to suffer the people to perish, and to make the possession of it a capital crime, is surely the height of diabolical enmity to Christ and precious souls. And these were the professed shepherds of the sheep, who swore they would lead them by the green pastures and the still waters. But we must not stay to moralise, although it is difficult to pass on without expressing the indignation which rises in the heart against such spiritual iniquity. But knowing their just sentence is with the living God, we may withhold ours.

THE STATUTES OF THE COUNCIL OF TOULOUSE.

The following brief notice of the statutes against heresy will give the reader some idea of the unrelenting cruelties of the Catholics, and the oppressed state of the feeble **remnant in Languedoc.** "The archbishops, bishops, and abbots, were to appoint in every parish one priest, and three or four lay inquisitors, to search all houses and buildings, in order to detect heretics, and to denounce them to the archbishop or bishop, the lord or his bailiff, so as to ensure their apprehension. The lords were to make the same inquisition in every part of their states. Whoever was convicted of harbouring a heretic forfeited the land to his lord, and was reduced to personal slavery. Every house in which a heretic was found was to be razed to the ground, the farm confiscated, the bailiff who should not be active in detecting heretics was to lose his office, and be incapacitated from holding it in future. Heretics who recanted were to be removed from their homes, and settled in Catholic cities, to wear two crosses of a different colour from their dress, one on the right side, one on the left. Those who recanted from fear of death were to be imprisoned for life. All persons, males of the age of fourteen, females of twelve, were to take an oath of abjuration of heresy, and of their Catholic faith ; if absent, and not appearing within fifteen days, they were held suspected of heresy."

The above extract from a Catholic code of persecution are sufficient to show the reader what the spirit of Popery was in those days, and what it would be to-day if it had the same power. And these laws were considered by the legate not strict enough ; and so he summoned a Council at Melun, where new statutes were enacted more rigorous and efficient. But as the heretics could only be judged by a bishop or an ecclesiastic, and the work becoming so laborious from the number of apprehensions, Pope Gregory IX, in the year 1233, committed this formidable jurisdiction into the hands of the Dominicans, and the Inquisition was then erected into a distinct institution. Having said so

much about the Inquisition as to its origin, it may be interesting to glance for a moment at the gradual expansion of the inquisitorial idea in the Church from its commencement.

THE HISTORY OF THE INQUISITION.

Previous to the reign of Constantine, or to the union of Church and State, heresy and spiritual offences were punished by excommunication only ; but shortly after his death capital punishments were added. **Theodosius** is generally allowed to have been the first of the Roman Emperors who pronounced heresy to be a capital crime. But the inquisitors at that time did not belong to the clerical order, they were laymen appointed by Roman prefects. Priscillian the Spanish heretic was put to death about 385. Justinian, in 529, enacted penal laws against heretics, and as centuries rolled onward, the proceedings against them were marked by increasing severity. It was not, however, as we have just seen, until the thirteenth century that the court of Inquisition was established by canon law. Then it became a criminal tribunal, charged with the detection, prosecution, and punishment of heresy, apostasy, and other crimes against the established faith. Whether Dominic or Innocent is to have the credit of the invention, it evidently had its origin in the Albigensian war. The Papal legate discovered that the open slaughter of heretics would never accomplish their utter extermination. This difficulty led to the creation of a new fraternity, called the order of the Holy Faith ; the members of which were bound by solemn oaths to employ their utmost powers for the repression of free inquiry in matters of religion and for maintaining the unity of the faith, for the destruction of all heretics and for the rooting out of all heresy from the homes, the hearts, and the souls of men. But it was reserved for Gregory IX, in the Council of Toulouse, to fix the **establishment of the Inquisition** in the form of a tribunal, and at the same time to give it positive laws.

This terrible tribunal was gradually introduced into the Italian states, into France, Spain, and other countries ; but into the British islands it never was allowed to force its way. In France and Italy it required strenuous and persevering efforts to organise and establish it ; Germany successfully resisted a *permanent* Inquisition ; in Spain, however, though it met with some opposition at first, it speedily gained a footing, and in time attained a magnitude which, from a variety of causes, it never reached in any other country. Gradually the authority of the inquisitors was extended, and they were called upon to pronounce judgment, not only upon the words and actions, but even upon the thoughts and intentions of the accused. During the fourteenth century, its progress was steady, whilst its rigour

and energy were continually on the increase. But it was not till the close of the fifteenth century, when Isabella, wife of Ferdinand of Arragon, had ascended the throne of Castile, and when the different kingdoms of Spain—Castile, Navarre, Arragon, and Portugal—were united under these sovereigns, that the Inquisition became general in the country, and assumed that form which it retained until the period of its dissolution in 1808.*

THE INTERNAL PROCEEDINGS OF THE INQUISITION.

Under this head, as all know now, the darkest deeds, the most irresponsible tyranny and inhuman cruelties that ever blackened the annals of mankind, might be written ; but lengthy details, however painfully interesting, would be out of place in our Papers, so we will content ourselves with a few brief statements and extracts. No tribunal, we may safely affirm, so regardless of justice, humanity, and every sacred relationship in life, ever existed in the dominions of heathenism or Mohammedanism.

When a man was **slightly suspected** of heresy, spies, called the *Familiars* of the Inquisition, were employed narrowly to watch him, with the view of discovering the least possible excuse for handing him over to the tribunal of the Holy Office. The man may have been a good Catholic, for Llorente assures us that nine-tenths of the prisoners were true to the Catholic faith ; but, perhaps, he was suspected of holding liberal opinions, or he may have shown in conversation that he knew more of theology than the illiterate monks, or differed with them on some point of doctrine. Any of these things would be enough to create suspicion ; for nothing was more to be dreaded than new light or truth ; he was now marked and denounced by the familiars.

At midnight a knock is heard, the suspected man is ordered to accompany the messengers of the Holy Office. His wife and family know what that means ; their distress is great. They must now take a last farewell of the beloved husband and the beloved father. Not a word of entreaty or of remonstrance dare be breathed. Thus suddenly and unexpectedly this frightful institution pounced upon its victims. Wives gave up their husbands, husbands their wives, parents their children, and masters their servants, without a question or a murmur. Terror constituted the great element of its power. No man, from the monarch to the slave, knew when the knock might come to his door. An impenetrable secrecy characterised all the proceedings of this institution. This feeling of insecurity and the workings of the imagination lent their aid to exaggerate the fearful reality. Neither rank, nor age, nor sex, afforded any defence against its watchful vigilance and its pitiless severity.

* See "Encyclopaedia Britannica," "Inquisition," vol. xii., p. 283 ; Llorente's "History of the Inquisition ;" Gardner's "Faiths of the World ;" Milman, vol. v., p. 16.

The prisoner, the helpless victim, is now within the gates of the Inquisition ; and few who ever entered there left it absolved and acquitted ; not more, it is said, than one in a thousand. Certain forms were gone through as to the question of the alleged guilt of the accused, but all were a gross mockery of justice. "The court sat in profound secrecy ; no advocate might appear before the tribunal ; no witness was confronted with the accused ; who were the informers, what the charges, except the vague charge of heresy, no one knew. The suspected heretic was first summoned to declare on oath that he would speak the truth, the whole truth, of all persons living or dead, with himself, or like himself, on suspicion of heresy, or Waldensianism. If he refused, he was cast into a dungeon, the most dismal, the most foul, the most noisome, in those dreary ages. No falsehood was too false, no craft too crafty, no trick too base, for this deliberate, systematic, moral torture which was to wring further confession against himself, denunciation against others. It was the deliberate object to break the spirit ; the prisoner's food was to be slowly, gradually, diminished till the body and soul were prostrate. He was then to be left in darkness, solitude, and silence." The next part of the procedure of the Holy Office in these secret prisons was the application of bodily torture. The helpless victim was charged with the culpable concealment and denial of the truth. In vain did he affirm that he had answered every question fully and honestly to the utmost extent of his knowledge. He was urged to confess if ever he had entertained an evil thought in his heart against the Church, or the Holy Office, or anything else they chose to name. No matter what answer he gave, he was denounced as an obstinate heretic. After some hypocritical expressions as to their love for his soul, and their sincere desire to deliver him from error, that he might obtain salvation, a vast apparatus of torturing instruments were shown to him ; the rack must now be applied to make him confess his sins.

THE APPLICATION OF TORTURE.

Were it not that truth and impartial history demand that the real nature of the Papacy should be told, we would much rather not describe, even in the briefest way, those scenes of torture ; but few of our young readers in these peaceful times have any idea of the cruel character of Popery, and of its thirst for the blood of God's saints. And that nature, let it be remembered, is unchanged. **As late as 1820,** which may be said to be our own day, when the Inquisition was thrown open in Madrid by the orders of the Cortes, twenty-one prisoners were found in it. Not one of them knew the name of the city in which he was. Some had been confined for three years, some a longer period,

and not one knew perfectly the nature of the crime of which he was accused. One of these persons was to have suffered death the following day by the *Pendulum*. This method of torture is thus described. The condemned is fastened in a groove, upon a table, on his back ; suspended above him is a pendulum, the edge of which is sharp, and it is so constructed as to become longer with every movement. The victim sees this implement of destruction swinging to and fro above him, and every moment the keen edge approaches nearer and nearer. At length it cuts the skin of his face, and gradually cuts through his head, until life is extinct." This was a punishment of the Secret Tribunal in 1820, and may be so to-day in some places in Spain and Italy !

The penances and punishments to which the accused were subjected, in order to obtain such a confession as the inquisitors desired, were many and various ; the rack was usually the first. The naked arms, to which a small hard cord was fastened, were turned behind the back, heavy weights were tied to the feet ; and then the sufferer was drawn up by the action of a pulley to the height of the place he was in. Having been kept suspended for some time, he was suddenly let down with a jerk to within a little distance of the floor ; this done several times, the joints of the arms were dislocated, whilst the cord, by which he was suspended, cut through the skin and flesh, and penetrated to the bone ; and by means of the weights appended to the feet, the whole frame was violently strained. This species of torture was continued for an hour and sometimes longer, according to the pleasure of the inquisitors present, and to what the strength of the sufferer seemed capable of enduring. The torture by fire was equally painful. The prisoner being extended on the floor, the soles of his feet were rubbed with lard, and placed near the fire, until, writhing in agony, he was ready to confess what his tormentors required. A second time the judges doomed their victims to the same torture, to make them own the motives and intentions of their hearts for their confessed conduct or sayings ; and a third time, that they might reveal their accomplices or abettors.

When cruelties failed to wring a confession, artifices and snares were resorted to. Persons were sent into the dungeons, pretending to be prisoners like themselves, who ventured to speak against the Inquisition, but only with the view of ensnaring others that they might witness against them. When the accused was held to be convicted, either by witnesses or by his own forced confession, he was sentenced according to the heinousness of his offence. It might be to death, to perpetual imprisonment, to the galleys, or to flogging. Those sentenced to death by fire were allowed to accumulate, that the sacrifice of a great number at once might produce a more striking and terrible effect.

THE AUTO DE FÉ.

The cruel death by which the Inquisition closed the career of its victims was styled in Spain and Portugal an *Auto de Fé*, or "**Act of Faith,**" being regarded as a religious ceremony of peculiar solemnity ; and to invest the act with greater sanctity, the cruel deed was always done on the Lord's Day. The innocent victims of this Papal barbarity were led forth in procession to the place of execution. They were dressed in the most fantastic manner. On the caps and tunics of some were painted the flames of Hell, and dragons and demons fanning them to keep them brisk for the heretics ; and the Jesuits thundering in their ears that the fires before them were nothing to the fires of Hell which they would have to endure for ever. If any brave heart attempted to say a word for the Lord, or in defence of the truth for which he was about to suffer, his mouth was instantly gagged. The condemned were then chained to stakes. Any of the persons confessing that he was a true Catholic and wished to die in the Catholic faith, had the privilege of being strangled before he was burned ; but those who refused to claim the privilege were burnt alive and reduced to ashes.

A quantity of furze, sometimes green, and pieces of wood were laid around the bottom of the stakes and set on fire. Their sufferings were indescribable. The lowest extremities of the body were sometimes actually roasted before the flames reached the vital parts. And this appalling spectacle was beheld by crowds of people of both sexes, and of all ages, with transports of joy ; so demoralised were the people by Romanism. For upwards of four centuries the Auto de Fé was a national holiday in Spain, which its kings and queens, princes and princesses, witnessed in the pomp of royalty.

According to the calculations of Llorente, compiled from the records of the Inquisition, it appears that from the year 1481 to 1808 this tribunal condemned, in Spain alone, upwards of *three hundred and forty-one thousand persons.* And if to this number be added all who suffered in other countries, then under the dominion of Spain, what would the total number be ?

Torquemada, on being made inquisitor-general of Arragon, in 1483, burned alive, to signalise his promotion to the Holy Office, no less than two thousand of the prisoners of the Inquisition. Sovereigns, princes, royal ladies, learned men, magistrates, prelates, ministers of state, were boldly and fearlessly accused and tried by the Holy Office. But the Lord knows them all—He knows the sufferers, He knows the persecutors, He knows how to reward the one and how to judge the other. The dark deeds of those secret dungeons, the pitiful wail of the helpless sufferers, the cruel mockings of the unaccountable Dominicans, must all be revealed before that throne of inflexible justice, of overwhelm-

ing purity. The Pope and his college of cardinals, the abbot and his fraternity of monks, the inquisitor-general and his jailers, tormentors, and executioners, must all appear before "the great white throne." There we leave these wicked men, thankful that we have not to judge them, and perfectly content with the Lord's decisions. Shall not the Judge of all the earth do right?

He who rebuked His disciples for entertaining the thought of calling down fire on the Samaritans will judge them by His own standard. He then placed on record what should have been a guide to His people in all ages. He rebuked the disciples, and said, "Ye know not what manner of spirit ye are of. For the Son of Man is not come to destroy men's lives, but to save them" (Luke 9. 55, 56).

It may be necessary just to state here, that we do not consider all who suffered by the inquisition to be martyrs, or even Christians. The crimes of which the inquisitors took cognisance were heresy in all its different forms; such as Judaism, Mohammedanism, sorcery, polygamy, apostasy; besides, we have not the privilege of knowing the final testimony of the sufferers. It was quite different with the martyrs under the heathen emperors. At the same time, it is impossible not to be strongly moved with horror as well as compassion, in reading the histories of that dark and diabolical period.

The reader has now before him the commencement and the general character of the Inquisition; individual cases of its cruelty will come before us in the progress of our history. Next in order to be noticed, however briefly, are the new orders of monks which sprang out of the same memorable Albigensian war.

ANCIENT AND MODERN MONKS.

The origin and early history of monachism are carefully traced in our first volume; but, as it completely changes its character in the thirteenth century, it may be well rapidly to sketch its progress from these early times, and thus more clearly see the contrast. This plan will also give us an opportunity of glancing at the internal condition of the Church of Rome before the light of the Reformation penetrated and revealed its fearful darkness.

Towards the end of the third century, but especially during the fourth, the deserts of Syria and Egypt had been the abode of monks and hermits. The most private and unfrequented places in the wide wilderness were selected by the original recluses. The accounts of their sanctity, miracles, and devotion, became the literature of the Church. The infection spread. Men who were anxious to excel in holiness, or to obtain the reputation of a peculiar piety, embraced the monastic order. The practice prevailed so rapidly, that before the beginning of the sixth

century it was almost co-extensive with Christendom. There were three classes of those ancient monks. (1) *Solitaires* : Those who lived alone in places remote from all towns and habitations of men—hermits. (2) *Cœnobites* : Those who lived in common with others in the same house for religious purposes, and under the same superiors. (3) *Sarabaites* : They are described as strolling, irregular monks, who had no fixed rule or residence. They may be considered as seceders from the Cœnobites, who lived within their own gates. The wall which confined them, in some instances, enclosed also their wells and gardens, and all that was necessary for their sustenance, so as to leave no pretext even for occasional intercourse with a world which they had deserted for ever.

Those whom we call monks now-a-days are Cœnobites, who live together in a convent or monastery, make vows of living according to a certain rule established by the founder, and wear a habit which distinguishes their order.

The revolutions of the West, in the fifth century, proved favourable to monasticism. The barbarians were awed by the numbers, peculiarities, and professed sanctity of the monks. Their abodes, therefore, were undisturbed, and became a quiet retreat from the troubles of the time. Superstition honoured them ; wealth began to flow in, but with it degeneracy and corruption. Already there was room for a reformer, and the person who was to appear in that character was the famous St. Benedict.

ST. BENEDICT.

As nearly all the monastic institutions throughout Europe, for more than six hundred years, were regulated by the Rule of St. Benedict, we need only to give some account of this celebrated order to know the constitution and character of them all. And, as their name is *legion*, we will thus save a great deal of repetition.

This remarkable man was the son of a Roman senator, born at Nurcia, in Italy, A.D. 480. At the age of twelve he was sent to study at Rome. He had probably heard and read about the lives of the holy anchorites and hermits of the East. With these examples before his mind, and the irregularities of his fellow-students around him, he longed for solitude. When about fifteen, unable to endure any longer the corrupt state of Roman society, he separated himself even from his faithful nurse, Cyrilla, who had been sent with him to Rome by his parents, and left her to lament over his mental derangement. The ferocious Huns and Vandals had made even the heart of Italy a wilderness, so that the youthful hermit found a secluded spot not far from Rome. For years he lived in a lonely cave ; the only person acquainted with the secret of his retreat was a monk, named Romanus, who supplied him with bread, by saving a

portion of his own daily allowance. But as a steep rock lay between the cloister of Romanus and the grotto of Benedict, the bread was let down by a string to the mouth of the cave. At length he was discovered by some shepherds, who were delighted to hear his instructions and witness his miracles. As the fame of his piety increased, he was persuaded to become abbot of a monastery in the neighbourhood; but the strictness of his discipline displeased its inmates, and they agreed to rid themselves of the severe recluse by mixing poison in his wine. But on his making the sign of the Cross, which he usually did over his meat and his drink, the cup flew into pieces; whereupon he mildly rebuked the monks, and returned to his mountain cave.

Benedict now became an object of greater interest than ever. His fame spread; great multitudes flocked to him; men of wealth and influence joined him, and large sums of money were placed at his disposal. He was now in a position to build twelve monasteries, each of them consisting of twelve monks, under a superior. Having succeeded in so far accomplishing the object of his residence in the district, and being disquieted by the jealous interference of Florentius, a neighbouring priest, he quitted Subiaco with a few followers in the year 528. After some wanderings, he arrived at Monte Cassino, where Apollo was still worshipped by the rustics. With great skill and energy he uprooted the remains of heathen idolatry among the peasants. He cut down the grove, destroyed the idol of Apollo, and on the site of the altar an oratory was erected, which he dedicated to St. John the Evangelist and St. Martin. This was the germ of the great and renowned monastery which became the parent root of the innumerable branches which in a short time covered the face of Europe. Here Benedict drew up his famous Rule, about the year 529. It consists of seventy-three chapters, we are told, which contain a code of laws regulating the duties of monks to each other, and between the abbot and his monks. He provides for the administration of an institution, composed of every variety of character, engaged in every variety of occupation, but all to be perfectly subject to one absolute ruler. The comprehensiveness of his system is astonishing, as being the result of one mind, and without example or precedent. It is regarded by the learned as the most celebrated monument of ecclesiastical antiquity, and was in its operations the very strength and watchword of the satellites of Rome.

THE RULE OF ST. BENEDICT.

The wisdom of this great monk as a legislator, and the superiority of his discipline to all that had previously existed, are mainly found in the place which he gives to **manual labour.** This was the distinctive feature of the new order—hard, healthy,

bodily labour. Monasticism had been hitherto almost entirely a life of mere seclusion and contemplation, supported by the charity of the public, or the over-awed peasantry in the neighbourhood of the monastery. Benedict had seen the evil effects of this idle, dreamy, state of existence, and made ample provision for the occupation of the monks. Idleness he branded as the enemy of both soul and body. They were not only to labour in the way of prayer, worship, reading, and the education of youth ; but they were to labour with their hands, as with the axe in the forest, the spade in the fields, and the trowel on the walls. The advantages of this new system were great. The Benedictine abbeys became industrious agricultural settlements. Husbandry, and the arts of civilised life, were introduced into the most barbarous regions, and the wilderness, under the hands of the monks, blossomed with fertility.

Although the order of St. Benedict was in every way contrary both to the letter and the spirit of the Word of God, it had more of reason and common sense than the idle and languishing systems of the East. "He was one of those who held," says Travers Hill, "that to live in this world a man must do something—that life which consumes, but produces not, is a morbid life, in fact an impossible life—a life that must decay—and therefore imbued with the importance of this fact, he made labour, continuous and daily labour, the great foundation of his rule." His penetration is also seen in his consideration for the unfriendly climate of the West, and for European constitutions. His laws were milder and more practicable than had been attempted in Eastern countries ; the diet rather more generous ; and he did not propose any extreme mortification, but permitted his followers to live according to the common habit of their respective countries. In these wise and reasonable considerations lay the whole secret of the wondrous success of the Benedictine order.

But with our modern notions of good living, and of comparatively few religious services in the course of a week, the reader may be disposed to question what we have said of the mildness of the **monastic rules,** and of the generous nature of the diet. We have spoken of these as compared with the East, where monasticism originated.

At two o'clock in the morning the monks were aroused for vigils, on which occasion twelve psalms were chanted, and certain lessons from the Scriptures read or recited. They assembled again at day-break for matins ; this service was almost the same as the first, so that in their vigils and matins twenty-four psalms were to be chanted each day, that the Psalter might be completed each week. The time for their indoor devotion and their outdoor labours was arranged, in summer and winter, as the superior saw fit. But they were obliged to attend at least

seven distinct religious services every twenty-four hours, besides seven hours each day for labour. They breakfasted about noon, and dined in the evening. Their usual food consisted of vegetables, grain, and fruit; one pound of bread per day for each monk, and a small quantity of wine. On the public table no meat was allowed; only to the sick was animal food given. Some times they had eggs or fish with an evening meal. But every day in Lent they fasted till six in the evening, and were allowed less time for sleep.

The dress of the monks was to be coarse and plain, but variable, according to circumstances. They were allowed the luxury of boots. Their outer garment was to be a loose black gown, with large wide sleeves, and a cowl on their heads, ending in a point behind. Every monk had two coats, two cowls, a table-book, a knife, a needle, and a handkerchief. The furniture of their cells was a mat, a blanket, a rug, and a pillow. Each had a separate bed, and they slept with their clothes on. A dean was to preside over each dormitory, and a light was to be kept burning in each. No talking was allowed after they retired. For small faults they were shut out from the meals of the brotherhood, for greater they were excluded from the chapel; incorrigible offenders were excluded from the monastery.

Thus the long and tedious day of the self-doomed monk was spent; from his midnight vigils till his evening vespers, all his observances were merely mechanical. On entering the monastery he renounced wholly every species of personal liberty. His vow of implicit obedience to his superiors in everything was irrevocable. No one could receive a present of any kind, not even from a parent, nor have any correspondence with persons outside the monastery, except by its passing under the inspection of the abbot. A porter always sat at the gate, which was kept locked day and night, and no stranger was admitted without leave from the abbot, and no monk could go out unless he had permission from his superior.

The garden, the mill, the well, the bakehouse, were all within the walls, so that there might be no necessity for leaving the monastery. The trade or the occupation of every monk was to be determined by the abbot. A monk who once was rich and of high birth was now penniless, and might be appointed cook or waiter, tailor, carpenter, or ditcher, according to the pleasure of the absolute superior; the quality and quantity of his food were prescribed and limited as if he had been the merest child. He was not allowed to speak but at certain times. All conversation was strictly prohibited during meals; some one read aloud the whole time.

This was the man—**the social man**—isolated from society. Woman, whom God gave to man, was to be considered, not only

a stranger to his thoughts, but the natural enemy of his lonely perfection. By the subtlety of Satan, self was the supreme object of all monks—of every system of monkery. How forcibly the words of the apostle come into the mind when musing on the liberty of Christ and the slavery of Satan : "But what things were gain to me, those I counted loss for Christ." Mark these truly Christian words, "what things were gain to *me—gain to me*!" If only *gain to me*, what is the good of them? I want Christ. I have seen Christ in the glory. I want to be like Him. Everything that religious flesh could boast of, which was gain to him, he flung behind his back as the merest dross. "Yea, doubtless," he says, "and I count all things but loss for the excellency of the knowledge of Christ Jesus my Lord." What blindness, what perversity, for any one to prefer the order of St. Benedict to Philippians 3—to the love and liberty of Christ! But such was the deceiving power of Satan, that man thought the sure, if not the only, way to Heaven was to become a monk.

THE BENEDICTINES.

Before the death of Benedict, which took place in 543, his order had been established in France, Spain, and Sicily. It spread rapidly far and wide. Wherever the monks travelled, they converted the wilderness into a cultivated country; they cleared forests, drained morasses, reared stately abbeys, with their own hands, civilised rude populations, pursued the breeding of cattle and the labours of agriculture in every way. They also cultivated learning, and had schools for the young. But though the Benedictines soon became a great community, and spread through various countries, they were all subject to one rule. The time when this order came into England is well known. **St. Augustine** and his monks were Benedictines, and so was Gregory who sent them. But although they had the credit of reducing wastes into fertility by tillage, they have also the credit of choosing, when they had the opportunity, the fairest spots in the land for their settlements. "In every rich valley," says Milman, speaking of England, "by the side of every clear and deep stream, arose a Benedictine Abbey. The labours of the monks in planting, in cultivation, in laying out the sunny garden, or hanging the hills with trees, may have added much to the picturesque grace of these scenes; but in general, if a district in England be surveyed, the most convenient, most fertile, most peaceful spot will be found to have been the site of a Benedictine Abbey." *

The first intention of Benedict was not to found a monastic order, but simply to prescribe rules for the Italian monks, in

* 'Latin Christianity," vol. i., p. 426; Hill's "English Monasticism," p. 71; Gardner's "Faiths of the World," vol. i., p. 318; Neander, vol. iii., p. 351.

accordance with the practice of the anchorites and recluses of the early Church. But the monks of Monte Cassino soon became famous for their superior intelligence, peaceful lives, correct habits, and earnest zeal. In a country and at a time when strife, rapine, ignorance, and dissolute manners were universal, the calm and holy monastery presented an inviting haven of shelter, where, during life's brief period, man might attend to his religious duties, and end his days in peace with Heaven and with mankind. The young ardent spirit entering the world had little choice of life ; practically it was between a life of war, violence, and wickedness—a life of ferocious joys and sorrows, or of seclusion, humility, obedience, and self-denying labour. The more thoughtful and timid natures welcomed the new haven of rest. Men of all ranks left their luxury or their poverty, and joined the new community ; and thus it went on increasing, till its wealth and power were incredible. The following statistics will give the reader a better idea of the opulence of these ancient Benedictine abbeys than mere descriptions.

" The property belonging to the parent monastery of Monte Cassino at length included four bishoprics, two dukedoms, thirty-six cities, two hundred castles, three hundred territories, thirty-three islands, and one thousand six hundred and sixty-two Churches. The abbot assumed the following titles : Patriarch of the Holy Faith ; Abbot of the Holy Monastery of Cassino ; Head and Prince of all Abbots and Religious Houses ; Vice-chancellor of both the Sicilies, of Jerusalem, and Hungary ; Count and Governor of Campania and Terra di Savono, and of the Maritime Provinces ; Vice-Emperor ; and Prince of Peace." *

THE MISSIONARY ZEAL OF BENEDICTINES.

The Benedictines, in course of time, as their numbers increased, sent out missionaries to preach the Gospel amongst the nations then plunged in the depths of Paganism. It has been estimated that they were the means of converting upwards of thirty countries and provinces to the Christian faith, or, as we would say, to the Church of Rome. Still, the Lord in His mercy could, and no doubt did, use the Cross of Christ as then preached for salvation. A very little bit of truth about the Cross or the Blood of Christ will convert the soul when the Lord uses it. A most remarkable change took place in the history of the Church, or of Christianity, through the **preaching of the Benedictines,** and of St. Benedict's order, which we will merely name, and leave for the reflection of the thoughtful.

During the first three centuries of the Christian era, the emperors, and all earth's great ones, persecuted the faithful followers of Christ ; but during the sixth, seventh, eighth, and

* Marsden's " Dictionary of Christian Churches and Sects," p. 635.

ninth centuries many emperors and kings resigned their crowns, and became monks of the Benedictine order ; and also empresses and queens became nuns of the same order.*

From the seclusion of the Benedictine cells forty-eight Popes were raised to fill the chair of St. Peter ; two hundred cardinals, seven thousand archbishops, fifteen thousand bishops, fifteen thousand abbots, four thousand saints, and upwards of thirty-seven thousand religious establishments, including monasteries, nunneries, priories, hospitals, etc. The order has also produced a vast number of eminent writers, and other learned men. Rabanus established the first school in Germany. Alcuin founded the University of Paris, Guido invented the scale of music, Sylvester the organ, and Dionysius Exigeuus perfected the ecclesiastical computation.

" The abbots were often little inferior to sovereign princes ; their splendour was greatest in Germany, where the abbot of Angia, surnamed the Rich, had a yearly revenue of sixty thousand golden crowns, and into his monastery none were received but the sons of princes, earls, and barons. The abbots of Weissemburg, of Fulda, and St. Gall, were princes of the Empire. The Abbot of St. Gall once entered Strasburg with a retinue of a thousand horse."† For six hundred years all rules and societies gave way before the universal prevalence of the Benedictine order. Many other sects arose during that period, and, though differing from each other in some points of discipline or dress, all acknowledged the Rule of Benedict. The **Carthusians, Cistercians,** and others innumerable, were only branches growing out of the original stock.

These boasted results of the rule of the solitary hermit of Monte Cassino extend over a period of at least seven hundred years, during which time the Benedictines, like all other human institutions, experienced many reverses and many revivals, which we need not attempt to trace. We would only further say under this head, that, in accordance with the often-told story, no sooner did the monks of St. Benedict become rich and luxurious than they began to depart from the principles of their founder, and gave themselves up to indolence and every vice. They became involved in civil affairs and the intrigues of courts, seeking only to advance the authority and power of the Roman Pontiffs.

THE NEW ORDERS—ST. DOMINIC AND ST. FRANCIS.

It has often been remarked that, where the spirit of God is working by means of the Gospel, and where there are manifest

* For a list of the names and countries of these converts, with many particulars, see " English Monasticism," by O'Dell Travers Hill, p. 101. See also " Encyclopaedia Britannica," vol. iv., p. 562. The *numbers* do not quite agree in both, but as " English Monasticism " was published as late as 1867, we accept the figures given there.

† Marsden's " Christian Sects."

results, in the conversion of souls to Christ, there also the enemy is sure to be active. He will not quietly suffer his kingdom to be invaded. It may be in hindering the work by persecution, or in corrupting it by seducing to self-indulgence, or by imitating it in an evil and wicked way. We have many sad instances of such things in the history of both Israel and the Church—instances too numerous to be referred to here ; but we shall now see at this period of our history of the monastic institutions, what will explain our meaning.

The special object of the new orders which sprang up in the beginning of the thirteenth century, was to *counterwork* the influence which the Albigensian preachers acquired over the poorer classes of the people by familiarly mixing with them, and constantly preaching the Gospel to them. Preaching the Gospel of Christ suitably for the humbler classes had been completely neglected for centuries by the clergy of the Romish Church. Sometimes an earnest preacher was raised up, such as Claudius, of Turin ; Arnold, of Brescia ; Fulk, of Neuilly ; Henry, the deacon ; or Peter Waldo, who devoted himself to the work of the Gospel and the salvation of souls ; but these instances were few and far between. More commonly it was for some purely Popish object, such as the Crusades, when the clergy attempted to rouse the people by their eloquence.

"In theory," says the ecclesiastical historian, "it was the special privilege of the bishops to preach, but there were few amongst them who had either the gift, the inclination, the leisure from their secular, judicial, or warlike occupations, to preach even in their cathedral cities ; in the rest of their dioceses their presence was but occasional, a progress, or visitation of pomp and form, rather than of popular instruction. Almost the only means of religious instruction was the Ritual, which, in so far as language was concerned, had long ceased to be intelligible ; and the priests were almost as ignorant as the people ; they had just learned to go through the stated observances in the most mechanical way. The married, or secular clergy, as they were called, though by far the most moral and respectable, were acting in opposition to the laws of the Church, and even subject to the accusation of living in concubinage ; their ministrations had very little weight with the people. The unmarried, or regular clergy obeyed the outward rule, but by every account they so flagrantly violated the severer principles of the Church, that their teaching, if they attempted actual teaching, must have fallen powerless on the minds of the people." *

Such a state of things in **the Established Church** left the way open for the heretics, so-called. They embraced the opportunity, stepped in, and laboured diligently to spread their

* Dean Milman, vol. iv., p. 243 ; J. C. Robertson, vol. iii., p. 363.

doctrines among the people. Preaching in public and in private was the secret, under God, of the great success of the Waldenses and Albigenses. This was from the earliest times, and still is, the Divine way of spreading the truth, and gathering souls to Jesus. The more public the preaching, the better. In all ages it has pleased God, by what the world calls "the foolishness of preaching, to save them that believe." Open-air preaching, visiting and teaching from house to house, public testimony within-doors and out-of-doors, are ways and means which God will always bless. And such means seem to have been diligently used by those accused of heresy in Languedoc.

The watchful enemy, observing the effect of this mode of action, changes his tactics. In place of shutting up all the sincere and earnest and pious members of the Church of Rome in monasteries, to think only about themselves, instruct themselves, pray and preach only to themselves, he now sends them out as open-air preachers, and to overrun the very fields which had been occupied for centuries by the true followers of Christ. His emissaries had strict orders, not only to imitate the heretics, but to surpass them, in plainness of dress, humility, poverty, and familiarity with the people. A complete change now takes place in the history of the monastic orders; in place of cloistered monks, secluded from the eye of the world, saying their prayers, working in the fields, or gathering the fruit of their gardens, we have preaching friars at the corner of every street, and in every town throughout Europe, yea, begging from door to door. But this was not all; being favourites of the Pontiffs, they had the direction of nearly everything in Church and State for three centuries. "They held the highest offices, both civil and ecclesiastical," says Mosheim, "taught with almost absolute authority in all the schools and Churches, and defended the majesty of the Roman Pontiffs against kings, bishops, and heretics, with amazing zeal and success. What the Jesuits were after the Reformation, the same were the **Dominicans** and **Franciscans** from the thirteenth century to the times of Luther. They were the soul of the whole Church and State, and the projectors and executors of all the enterprises of any moment."

THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF THE DOMINICANS.

As we think it more satisfactory to know the beginning of things, we will now briefly describe the origin and character of these two great pillars of the proud temple of Rome. Up to this time—the beginning of the thirteenth century—the exertions of the Popes have been almost entirely confined to the building of this temple—the establishment of their own supremacy in the Church, and of their temporal authority over the State.

But the increasing light of the eleventh and twelfth centuries, and the increasing depravity of the Church, brought into the field of testimony many noble witnesses for Christ and for His Gospel. The temple began to shake. The clergy had alienated the hearts of the common people by their grasping and oppressive power; and their indolence, indulgence, and immoralities, unfavourably contrasted with the industry, humility, self-denial, and consistency of those accused of heresy. The whole fabric was in danger, for these heresiarchs were scattered throughout all provinces, and among all ranks and classes of society, even in Rome itself. The enemy, perceiving the necessities of the moment, hastened to the rescue of the threatened hierarchy. The two men adapted to meet the exigencies of the time were Dominic and Francis.

Dominic was born in 1170, in the village of Calaroga, in Old Castile. His parents were of noble name, that of Guzman, if not of noble race. According to some writers, the effect of his burning eloquence as a preacher was foreshown by his mother dreaming that she gave birth to a whelp carrying a fire-brand in his mouth, with which he set the world on fire. But whether it was his mother or his monk historian that had the vision, he faithfully answered to the similitude. "Beware of dogs," never had a truer application than to Dominic; and literal fire, not merely the fire of his eloquence, was his chosen and favourite agent of destruction from the commencement of his career. The flames of Hell, Dominic and his followers alleged, were reserved for all heretics, and they deemed it a good work to begin the eternal burnings in time. From infancy his life was rigidly ascetic. His nature, at an early period, showed signs of tenderness and compassion, but his religious zeal, in process of time, steeled him against every kindly impulse of nature. His nights were, for the most part, spent in severe penitential exercises. He flogged himself nightly with an iron chain, once for his own sins, once for the sinners in this world, and once for those in Purgatory.

Dominic became a canon in the rigorous house of Osma, and soon excelled the others in austerities. In consequence of his reputation, the Spanish bishop of Osma—a prelate of great ability and of strong religious enthusiasm—invited Dominic to accompany him on a mission to Denmark. He had then reached his thirtieth year, and, though he was considered mild towards Jews and infidels, he was burning with unrelenting hatred towards the heretics. Having crossed the Pyrenees, the zealous bishop and his congenial companion found themselves in the midst of the Albigensian heresy. They could not close their eyes to the disgraceful state of the Romish clergy, to the contempt into which they had fallen, and to the prosperity of the

sectaries. The Mass had not been said in some places for thirty years. The Papal commission, too, which had been appointed by Innocent III, about the year 1200, they found in a most dejected state. This mission, it will be remembered, consisted of such men as Reinerius, Guy, Castelnau, and the infamous Arnold, all monks of Citeaux, the spiritual offspring of Bernard. They bitterly lamented their want of success. Heresy was deaf to their warnings and threatenings ; it owned not the authority of the Pope.

The Papal legates, according to the good old style, had been marching through the land, from city to city, in the most hierarchical pomp, in rich attire, with their retinue, and a vast cavalcade of horses. "How expect success with this secular pomp ?" replied the severer Spaniards. "Sow the good seed as the heretics sow the bad. Cast off those sumptuous robes, renounce those richly-caparisoned palfreys, go barefoot, without purse and scrip, like the apostles ; out-labour, out-fast, out-discipline these false teachers." The Bishop of Osma and his faithful Dominic sent back their own horses, stripped themselves to the rudest monkish dress, and thus led on the spiritual army.

This was the deep subtlety of Satan. The power of the Holy Spirit had been manifested by the men of the valleys, and by the Poor Men of Lyons, who had spread themselves over the provinces ; and now comes a great display of mock humility and false zeal, a base imitation of the gifts and graces of the Holy Spirit. It was only by such lies and hypocrisy that the authority of Rome could be maintained, or that the enemy could hope to retain the nations of Europe in captivity.

We have already spoken of Dominic's labours in the Albigensian territory. There he spent ten years in endeavouring to root out heresy. A small fraternity was then formed, who went out two and two, in imitation of the Lord's appointment of the seventy (Luke 10 ; Matt. 10). The burnings in Languedoc then commenced. Like dogs of a keen scent, the Dominicans went from house to house, searching for prey to feed the sword of De Montfort, and the fires which they had kindled. Dominic's great achievements secured for him the favour of the Pontiffs, Innocent III and Honorius III, who established him in the privileges of a "Founder." He died in 1221 ; but before he quitted the scene of his cruelties, no fewer than sixty monasteries of his order had sprung up in various regions of Christendom. He was canonized by Gregory IX, in 1233. The fearful tribunal of the Inquisition, directly or indirectly, we doubt not, owed its origin to Dominic, and the most numerous and merciless of its officials belonged to his brotherhood. A few more details may be given when speaking about the Franciscans, as they may be described together.

THE ORIGIN AND CHARACTER OF THE FRANCISCANS.

Contemporary with St. Dominic was his great compeer in ecclesiastical fame, **St. Francis,** who was to rival, and even exceed, the Spanish monk in celebrity. He was a native of Assisi, a town of Central Italy. The many absurd legends which crowd the pages of his Franciscan biographers need not be referred to ; they are really blasphemous. Such was their enthusiastic frenzy, that they impiously maintained that St. Francis was a second Christ ; that the *stigmata,* or wounds of the Saviour were miraculously impressed upon his body, in imitation of the crucified body of Jesus ; and this imposture they dared to found on the text, " From henceforth let no man trouble me ; for I bear in my body the marks of the Lord Jesus " (Gal. 6. 17).

During a year's captivity in Perugia, and other bodily afflictions, he became the subject of the most extraordinary visions and raptures, by which he was encouraged to go forth into the world as a servant of God, and as a saviour of mankind. The feverish dreams of his weak mind were divine revelations to the Catholics.

Francis now began to talk mysteriously about his future bride—that bride was poverty. He exchanged his dress for rags. He was raised up, he said, " to oppose truth to error, poverty to the desire of wealth, and humility to ambition." He begged at the gates of monasteries ; he discharged the most menial offices ; he devoted himself to the care of lepers ; he washed their feet and dressed their wounds. " His mother," we read, " heard and beheld all his strange acts with a tender and prophetic admiration ; but his father was ashamed of him, and treated him as a madman." But though at first he was mocked and pelted in the streets of Assisi, he was believed in by the Church, sheltered by the bishop, and soon followed by a crowd of imitators.

Francis was now openly wedded to poverty by an oath never to be broken ; and it was to be poverty in its lowest form—beggary. He accepted from an old friend " a hermit's attire, a short tunic, a leathern girdle, a staff, and slippers ; " but this was much too fine and comfortable for the ideas of the young fanatic. Making the worst use of the Saviour's instructions to His disciples in Matthew 10 and Luke 10, he threw away all he had, excepting a coarse dark grey tunic, which he tied round him with a rope, and set out through the city, calling all to repentance.

Such strange but fervent piety or fanaticism, at that period of dark superstition and ignorance, could not fail to kindle the zeal of others. The essence of the Gospel as taught by Jesus Christ, he affirmed, consisted in the most absolute poverty of all things—that there was no safe path to Heaven unless by the destitution

of all earthly possessions. "Wonder grew into admiration, admiration into emulation, emulation into a blind following of his footsteps. Disciples, one by one, began to gather round him. He retired with them to a lonely spot in the bend of the river, called Rivo Torto. A rule was wanting for the young brotherhood. The Gospels were opened. Francis read three texts. (1) 'If thou wilt be perfect, go and sell that thou hast, and give to the poor.' (2) 'Take nothing for your journey.' (3) 'If any man will come after me, let him deny himself, and take up his cross, and follow Me' (Matt. 19. 21; Mark 6. 8; Matt. 16. 24). Francis made the sign of the Cross, and sent forth his followers into the neighbouring cities, to the east and west, the north and south."

Such was the origin, and such the character, of the new orders. Though somewhat different in their first constitution, they were very nearly assimilated in character, and even in profession, and entered upon the came career with almost the same objects in view and the same principles of action. Itinerant preachers under the vow of poverty characterised both. In their identification with the lowest of mankind they were entirely agreed. The enemy saw what the Poor Men of Lyons, or the Waldenses, were doing; and these were to be the poor men of the Papacy, who were to meet the heretics on their own ground, and outdo them in poverty, humility, labour, and suffering. Having received the formal sanction and protection of the Pope, Francis sent forth his followers, vowed to the service of God, to the extirpation of heretics, to chastity, poverty, and obedience.

The new orders included **nuns,** or a sisterhood, founded in connection with each of the brotherhoods. There was also a grade connected with the mendicant friars, called *Tertiaries*, who continued to be engaged in the common occupations of the world, and added greatly to the popularity and influence of the friars. It was an avowed link between the world and the Church. A few words as to the habits of the **preaching friars,** in contrast with the earlier monastic orders, will be the simplest way of giving the reader a clear view of both. And, as we have no doubt, the new orders were permitted of God to uphold the tottering fabric of the Romish Church, and to hinder the accomplishment of the Reformation for three hundred years, great interest is connected with their history. But the saints of God had a long education to pass through, and the true Church of Christ to be enriched with a noble army of martyrs, before that glorious end was gained.

THE EARLIER AND LATER MONASTIC ORDERS.

We are fully aware that all human systems must be examined by the Word of God, if we would rightly understand their real

character. It is not by contrasting the later with the earlier that we can find out how far they may have wandered from the mind of the Lord. The Word of the living God, by which all shall at last be judged, must be our only standard now. It matters very little what improvement may be found in one system compared with another, if both are the result of human invention. This is true as to all persons as well as all systems. The Word of God must be the Christian's only rule, and Christ Himself the only head and centre, power and authority, in the system which He owns—the Church, the assembly of God. But, as we have on different occasions looked into Scripture on these points, we will now, in a few words, state the difference between the earlier and later monastic systems.*

The chief, if not the exclusive, object of **the early hermits,** anchorites, and ascetics of every name, was their own religious perfection. The instruction or salvation of others formed no part of their creed. Isolation from the dangerous world, and seclusion in some lonely cell, with all its privations, were deemed necessary to this end. As the halo of their sanctity attracted and allured others, houses were built, and large tracts of land were cultivated, for the necessities of this life. These small beginnings sometimes grew up to be the most stately settlements in the country. And during the long dark night of the middle ages, with its barbarism and feudalism, the monasteries often proved a great mercy to the sick, the poor, and the traveller. All must thankfully acknowledge this fact. During the five or six centuries which followed the subversion of the Western Empire, the monastic system became a powerful instrument in correcting the vices of society, and in protecting the lower classes from the lawless oppression of the feudal lord. Hospitality, or the entertainment of strangers and pilgrims, was one of the important uses of the monasteries at that time. Inns for the reception of travellers appear not to have existed earlier than the eleventh century. Almost the only two stately buildings which met the traveller's eye in those days, were the castle of the powerful baron and the abbey of the praying monks. The one was war, and the other peace. Religion, learning, and science found a refuge behind the monastery walls, and true piety could peacefully labour there, in writing, transcribing, and otherwise collecting and preserving useful information.

"The Benedictines," says Travers Hill, "were the depositaries of learning and the arts; they gathered books together, and reproduced them in the silence of their cells, and they preserved in this way not only the volumes of sacred writ, but many of the works of classic lore. They started the Gothic architecture; they alone had the secrets of chemistry and medical science;

* See "Reflections on the Principles of Asceticism," "Short Papers," vol. i., p. 232.

they invented many colours; they were the first architects, artists, glass-stainers, carvers, and mosaic workers in mediaeval times. It was a mighty system, and did good work in the world, but it went the way of all human things and human institutions; it became intoxicated with its power, blinded with its own splendour, and corrupted by its own wealth; its abbots grew avaricious, its monks voluptuous; they lost their original simplicity; the rule of their founder existed no longer in the activity of their husbandmen, their scholars, and their artists, but was only to be found in the words mechanically read in the chapter house—monasticism engendered its own corruption, and out of that corruption came death."

The magnificent abbey of **Glastonbury** once covered sixty acres. Before the fall of the monasteries in England, the royal commissioners report concerning it, that they had never seen a house so great, good, and princely, with four parks adjoining, a great fishery five miles in compass, well replenished with pike, perch, bream, and roach; four manor houses, besides the chapel, hospital, tribunal, schools, and the great gate-house. Many of the houses of Glastonbury have been built out of the materials of this once superb abbey.*

The habits of the modern monks were a perfect contrast to the earlier. In place of dwelling within the walls of a superb abbey, the whole of Christendom in a short time was overspread with hosts of Dominicans and Franciscans. They were gathered from every country, and spoke, therefore, every language and dialect. They preached the old faith in its fullest mediaeval inflexible rigour, in almost every town and hamlet. Unswerving loyalty to the Pope and the extirpation of heresy were their grand themes. And the Pontiffs in return protected them, and conferred upon them the highest privileges and advantages. Before the century closed, the monasteries and nunneries of the Minorite order had reached the surprising number of eight thousand, and were inhabited by at least two hundred thousand inmates.

THE APOSTASY OF THE MENDICANTS.

The two rival orders, the Dominicans and Franciscans, not contented with embroiling all Europe in discord, and angry strife, began soon after the decease of their respective founders, to contend with each other for precedence. And although the Pontiffs of this and the following centuries used various means to compose and terminate these unseemly disputes, their attempts were fruitless; for these two great orders continued for many a long year to cherish this keen rivalry, and to hurl at each other the most bitter recriminations. They fought hard for the mastery in all the seats of learning in Christendom, but the most noted

* Johnston's "Gazetteer."

contest was that of the Dominicans with the University of Paris. Another prominent point of great controversy which long raged, was the doctrine of **the immaculate conception** of the Virgin Mary. It was the favourite doctrine of the Franciscans, and was always violently assailed by the Dominicans. The famous **Thomas Aquinas** argued in favour of the Dominican view of the question, and Duns Scotus, the Dialectician, taking up the Franciscan view of the doctrine, entered the arena of debate, which has continued to this day; for although the late Pope Pius IX has pronounced the dogma of the immaculate conception of the Virgin Mary, the Dominican fraternity are unwilling to admit it. However, it has now become an article of faith in the Romish Church.

As early as 1256, when **Bonaventura** became the general of the Franciscans, he found they had begun to be faithless to their ungenial bride, poverty, and were struggling for a divorce. The affections of Francis had not survived in his followers. But under the prudent management of their new general, comparative tranquillity was maintained during his life; but after his death, which took place in 1274, dissensions broke out with as great violence as ever. Indeed these mendicant, or rather Satanic, orders caused the most violent contentions in almost every country of Europe down to the period of the Reformation. But all classes, both in Church and State, had to bear with their pride and arrogance, as they were the most faithful servants and satellites of the Roman See.

The following brief sketch from the pen of **Matthew Paris,** a Benedictine of St. Alban's, who wrote about 1249, will place before the reader the real character and ways of these dreadful pests of society. The picture is by no means overdrawn, though Matthew belonged to the old aristocratic order and might despise his new democratic brothers. Solitude, seclusion, the lonely cell, the private chapel, communication with the outer world sternly cut off, was the old order. The following is a sample of the new, and of what prevailed in England in the thirteenth century.

"It is a terrible—it is an awful—presage, that in three hundred years, in four hundred years, even in more, the old monastic orders have not so entirely degenerated as these fraternities. The friars, who have been founded hardly forty years, have built even in the present day in England, residences as lofty as the palaces of our kings. These are they, who, enlarging day by day their sumptuous edifices, encircling them with lofty walls, lay up within them incalculable treasures, imprudently transgressing the bounds of poverty, and violating, according to the prophecy of the German Hildegard, the very fundamental rules of their profession. These are they, who, impelled by the love

of gain, force themselves upon the last hours of the lords, and of the rich whom they know to be overflowing with wealth ; and these, despising all rights, supplanting the ordinary pastors, extort confessions and secret testaments, boasting of themselves, and of their order, and asserting their vast superiority over all others. So that no one of the faithful now believes that he can be saved, unless guided and directed by the preachers or friars minor. Eager to obtain privileges, they serve in the courts of kings and nobles, as counsellors, chamberlains, treasurers, bridesmen, or notaries of marriages ; they are the executioners of the Papal extortions. In their preaching they sometimes take the tone of flattery, sometimes of biting censure ; they scruple not to reveal confessions, or to bring forward the most rash accusations. They despise the legitimate orders, those founded by holy fathers, by Benedict or Augustine, with all other professors. They place their own order high above all ; they look on the Cistercians as rude and simple, half laic or rather peasants ; they treat the black friars as haughty epicureans." *

* Milman, vol. iv., p. 276 ; Mosheim, vol. ii., p. 523.

Chapter XXVII

The Approaching Dawn of the Reformation

Centuries before Luther nailed his theses to the Church door in Wittemburg, the Lord was preparing both nations and individuals for the accomplishment of this great work. The weakening of the Papal power and the increasing boldness of the witnesses, foretold what was approaching.

In our contemplations of Rome, we must always distinguish between the Catholic Church and Popery, or the ecclesiastical and the temporal power. The Church, though fallen and enslaved, was still the Church ; Protestant in heart and faithful in measure to Christ ; but to venture in her pious services beyond the defined limits of Roman orthodoxy subjected her to its severe discipline. The Papacy vowed destruction on all trespassers. Immorality, irreligion, might be passed over, at least with a slight censure ; but heresy or schism—in other words, *any form* of dissent from the Roman Church, must be rooted out by fire and sword, and all heretics consigned by Pontifical sentence to eternal death.

During the long reign of Papal terror, the true saints of God witnessed and prophesied in sackcloth. But the *silver line* of sovereign grace was preserved unbroken from the days of the apostles, under the sheltering wing of the living God. He preserved His witnesses from the devouring dragon in the secret places of the earth ; in mountains, valleys, and caverns ; and in many quiet convents in the remote regions of Christendom.

But it may be interesting, first of all, to renew our acquaintance with the state of Christianity in some of the countries which we have already noticed. In this way we shall naturally fall in with our long line of witnesses, which go down to the days of Luther. And, first in order, we will notice the state of

CHRISTIANITY IN IRELAND.

Centuries have rolled on since we last looked at the state of things in the sister island. **St. Patrick** left behind him at his death in 492, a band of well-educated, devoted men, who greatly venerated their master and sought to follow in his footsteps. The fame of Ireland for its monasteries, missionary schools, and as the seat of pure Scriptural teaching, rose so high, that it received the honourable appellation of " The isle of saints." On the testimony of Bede we learn that, about the middle of

the seventh century, many of the Anglo-Saxon nobles and clergy repaired to Ireland, either for instruction, or for an opportunity of living in monasteries of a stricter discipline.

We have already noticed the labours of the Irish clergy as missionaries.* The Culdees of Iona owed their origin as a Christian community to the preaching of the Irish apostle Columba. Britain, France, Germany, the low countries, and different parts of the continent of Europe, were mainly indebted to Irish missionaries for their first acquaintance with Divine truth. Charlemagne, himself a man of letters, invited to his court various eminent scholars from different countries, but especially from Ireland. For many ages she maintained her independence of Rome, rejected all foreign control, and acknowledged Christ only as Head of the Church. But the invasion of the Danes about the beginning of the ninth century, and their occupation of the country, quenched the light, and changed the character of "The isle of saints." These piratical and predatory hordes wasted her fields, slew her sons, or dispossessed them of their inheritance, demolished her colleges, and maintained themselves in the country with the cruelty and arrogance of usurpers. Moral, spiritual, and literary darkness followed, and prepared the way for Romanism. Up till this time religious institutions, and the labours of the ecclesiastics, form the chief subjects of her history; but since then, intestine wars, turbulence, crime, and desolation.

Various attempts had been made by Roman Pontiffs to subject **the Irish Church** to the See of Rome, but without success until the reign of Pope Adrian IV. He was an Englishman, known by the name of Nicolas Breakspear. Born in poverty and obscurity, he became a monk of St. Alban's, and was afterwards elevated in the revolution of human affairs to the Pontifical dignity. Though suddenly raised from indigence to opulence, his pride and arrogance were extreme. He took great offence at the Emperor Frederic Barbarossa for omitting to hold his stirrup, and refused to give him the kiss of peace. Frederic declared that the omission was the result of ignorance, and, submitting to the service as equerry to his Holiness, was forgiven, and received the kiss.

Amongst the earliest acts of this modest Pontiff, was the assumption of authority over Ireland, and making a grant of it to Henry II, King of England. The ground on which the Pope rested his right to make this grant was thus expressed: "For it is undeniable, and your majesty acknowledges it, that all islands on which Christ the sun of righteousness hath shined, and which have received the Christian faith, belong of right to St. Peter and the most holy Roman Church." In virtue of this

* See vol. i., p. 263.

right, he authorises Henry to invade Ireland with a view to the extension of the Church, the increase of religion and virtue, and eradicating the tares of vice from the garden of the Lord ; on condition that a penny shall be yearly paid from each house to the See of Rome.

From this period, 1155, the Irish Church came to be essentially Romish in its doctrines, constitution, and discipline. Long before the Reformation, "Nearly six hundred monastic establishments, belonging to eighteen different orders, were scattered over the entire face of the country. Ghostly friars, black, white, and grey, swarmed in countless multitudes, practising upon an ignorant and deluded people." In 1172, Henry completed his conquest of the country ; an assembly of the Irish clergy convened at Waterford, submitted to the Papal dictation, proclaimed Henry's title to the sovereign dominion of Ireland, and took the oath of fidelity to himself and his successors. Rapid declension now marked the Church in Ireland. Her far-famed spirituality and intelligence were gone. At one time she had about three hundred bishops ; at the dawn of the Reformation, we believe the number was under thirty. Jealousies, contentions, and rebellions, have blotted almost every page of her history, both civil and ecclesiastical, from the ninth to the present century.*

CHRISTIANITY IN SCOTLAND.

We have already seen, that the Roman clergy experienced great difficulty in obtaining a permanent footing in Scotland." The **Culdees**—whom we are disposed to honour for their works' sake—continued for centuries to resist the encroachments of Popery and to maintain their ground, notwithstanding all the efforts put forth by the Church of Rome to crush and exterminate them. For they held fast by the Word of God, like the reformers of a later day, as the only infallible guide and authority in all matters of faith and practice. Even Bede, the monk historian, in candour admits that "**Columba** and his disciples would receive those things only which are contained in the writings of the prophets, evangelists, and apostles ; diligently observing the works of piety and virtue." But Rome at length triumphed. The faithful Culdees, long oppressed, diminished in numbers, weakened in energy, through the sorceries of Jezebel, disappear from the page of history, and Scotland is again enshrouded in darkness and superstition. Monasteries rose rapidly, and soon overshadowed all the land ; and as they reached a height of wealth and power, unsurpassed in any other portion of Europe, we must give them a brief examination.*

The great mania for enriching Churches began with

* See Froude's "History of Ireland ;" Gardner's "Faiths of the World," vol. ii., p. 150 ; Edgar's "Variations of Popery," pp. 153, 192.

* See "Short Papers," vol. i., p. 267.

Charlemagne. Alfred the Great imitated his example, and soon all Christendom was infected by this superstition. In the person of Margaret, the Saxon princess, it travelled northward. The invasion and conquest of England by the Normans, and the establishment of a new dynasty in that country, produced the most important effects on the history of the Church in Scotland. Many of the Saxons fled into Scotland to escape from their new masters ; and among others Margaret, who became the wife of the Scottish king, Malcolm III, and the mother of Alexander I, a powerful and vigorous prince, and of David I, who was a bigoted supporter of Romanism. Margaret's piety, charity, and ascetic life are celebrated with enthusiasm by her confessor and biographer, Turgot, a monk of Durham, and Bishop of St. Andrews. Malcolm, animated by the devout spirit of his beloved wife, made some donations to the Church ; but the royal munificence of his son David in the endowment of bishoprics and abbeys has been rewarded by the praise of all monastic writers, although James I speaks of him as " a sore saint to the crown." Yet his extravagant superstition tended not only to impoverish the crown, but to the oppressive taxation of the people. " He founded the bishoprics of Glasgow, Brechin, Dunkeld, Dunblane, Ross, and Caithness... The same pious liberality called into existence a multitude of abbacies, priories, and nunneries ; and monks of every order and in every garb swarmed in the land." *

The superior civilisation of the Anglo-Saxon refugees, and their attachment to the English hierarchy, tended greatly to its establishment in Scotland. The **Celtic element** was depressed, while the Court took an English tone and character. From this period, we are informed, a stream of Saxon and Norman settlers poured into Scotland. They soon acquired the most fertile districts from the Tweed to the Pentland Firth ; and almost every noble family in Scotland now traces from them its descent. These new proprietors, following the example of the monarch, lavished their riches on the Church. The passion to found and endow monasteries became so great, that long before the Reformation there were upwards of a hundred monasteries spread over the country, and more than twenty convents for the reception of nuns.

A brief sketch of two or three of these religious houses may not be uninteresting to the reader ; which will also show the state of things introduced by the Romish hierarchy into that once simple and primitive country. The statistics are taken from Mr. Cunningham's history.

THE WEALTH OF THE ABBEYS IN SCOTLAND.

Jedburgh, one of the noblest abbeys in Scotland, was held by the red friars. Among the donations made to it by a succession

* For carefully collected details, see Cunningham, vol. i., p. 106.

of pious benefactors, we find—the tithe of the king's hunting in Teviotdale, a house in Roxburgh, a house in Berwick, pasture for the monks' cattle along with those of the king, timber from the royal forests according to their wants, the multure of the mill—a measure of corn—from all the men of Jedburgh, a salt-pan near Stirling, exemption from any exaction on their tuns of wine, a fishing in the Tweed, acres, ploughgates and oxgangs of land, with a villein to till, and several Parish Churches, with their tithes and other revenues. They followed the rule of St. Augustine, which bound them to devote the first part of the day to labour, and the remainder to reading and devotion.

Paisley. The *Abbey of Paisley* was anciently one of the richest religious houses in Scotland. It was founded by Walter Fitz-Allan, the high steward, about the year 1160, for Cluniac monks, who followed the order of St. Benedict. They were first located at Renfrew, but afterwards removed to Paisley, and were soon richly endowed by the pious liberality of successive high stewards, and by some of the great Lords of Lennox and the Isles. In the thirteenth century, they were in possession of thirty Parish Churches, with all their revenues; and about two-thirds of the whole soil of the extensive parish of Paisley had passed into their hands, with acres and ploughgates in almost every district in the west of Scotland. The stewards had moreover given them the tithe of their hunting, and the skins of all the deer taken in the adjoining forests, pasture for their cattle, a mill at Paisley, a salmon-net in the Clyde at Renfrew, a fishing at Lochwinnoch, the liberty of quarrying both building stones and lime stones for burning at Blackhall and elsewhere, of digging coal for the use of their monasteries, its granges, smithies, and brew-houses, of making charcoal of dead wood, and of cutting turf for covering in the charcoal, of green wood for their monasteries and grange buildings, and for all operations of agriculture and fishing.

Such were the monks, and such their revenues in those days. They might well rejoice in the abundance of all the good things of this life; but the parish priest, strange to say, was left in a state of poverty and dependence. The revenues of the parish were appropriated by the bishops and religious houses, so that a very scanty income was reserved for the parochial clergy. All went to fatten the idle friars, who, whatever their primitive virtues may have been, were now the scandal of the Church. At the time of the Reformation, of the thousand parishes in Scotland, about seven hundred had been appropriated to bishops and religious houses. The more thorough and regular division of the country into parishes and dioceses took place about the beginning of the twelfth century.

Some of our readers may be disposed to inquire, why it was

that in the twelfth and thirteenth centuries more especially, the kings and nobles of the earth strove with each other to enrich the Church. Many causes combined to produce this state of things. The feudal charters in those days were signed with the king's ×, as he could not write his own name ; and all his subjects were rude, ignorant, and superstitious. The monks and friars had a high reputation, as we have frequently noticed in our history, for superior holiness, for the fervour of their devotions, and the austerity of their lives. These things attracted the attention and won the veneration of a credulous and superstitious age. Besides, the donor was assured that his donations would secure the repose of his soul after death, which then meant eternal life. It was by means of this great religious imposture that the clergy attained to such a degree of opulence and power ; that the rich became their worshippers, and built them those beautiful houses, the very ruins of which still attract the traveller, and excite his admiration.*

THE EFFECT OF WEALTH ON THE CLERGY.

Before the Reformation, according to the most trustworthy accounts, more than the half of the wealth of Scotland belonged to the clergy, and the greater part of this was in the hands of a few individuals. The effect of such a state of things, as it has always been in every age and country, was the corruption of the whole order of the clergy, and of the whole system of religion. "Avarice, ambition, and the love of secular pomp, reigned among the superior orders. Bishops and abbots rivalled the first nobility in magnificence, and preceded them in honours. They were privy councillors, and lords of session as well as of Parliament, and had long engrossed the principal offices of State. A vacant bishopric or abbacy called forth powerful competitors, who contended for it as for a principality or petty kingdom. Inferior benefices were openly put to sale, or bestowed on the illiterate and unworthy minions of courtiers ; on dice-players, strolling bards, and the natural sons of bishops. The bishops never, on any occasion, condescended to preach ; from the erection of the regular Scottish Episcopacy down to the era of the Reformation, history mentions only one instance of a bishop preaching, and that was Dunbar, Archbishop of Glasgow, for the purpose of excluding the Reformer, **George Wishart.**"

The lives of the clergy, corrupted by wealth and ignorance, became such a scandal to religion, and such an outrage on decency, that we cannot transfer the description of the most conscientious historian to our pages. But all historians are agreed, both Catholic and Protestant, that monasteries and all religious houses became the nurseries of superstition and idleness,

* Cunningham, vol. i., chap. v.

and ultimately the haunts of lewdness and wickedness. Yet it was deemed impious and sacrilegious to speak of reducing their numbers or alienating their funds. "The kingdom swarmed with ignorant, idle, luxurious monks, who, like locusts, devoured the fruits of the earth, and filled the air with pestilential infection; with friars, white, black, and grey; canons regular, Carmelites, Carthusians, Cordeliers, Dominicans, Franciscan conventuals and observantines, Jacobins, Premonstratensians, monks of Tyrone, and of Vallis Caulium, and Hospitallers, or Holy Knights of St. John of Jerusalem; nuns of St. Austin, St. Clair, St. Scholastica, and St. Catherine of Sienna, with canonesses of various clans." *

Without an adequate knowledge of the state of Christendom before the Reformation, it would be impossible to form a just estimate of the necessity and importance of that most merciful revolution. At this distance of time and with such a changed state of society before us, it is difficult to believe that such enormous abuses then prevailed in the Church. Of the doctrines of Christianity almost nothing remained but the name. At the same time we as firmly believe that the Lord had His hidden ones—His true witnesses, who mourned over the evil ways and intolerance of the high and dominant party. The Lord Himself, in His address to Thyatira, speaks of a remnant then in separation from the corruptions of Jezebel, and that their good works increased as the darkness thickened. "I know thy works, and charity, and service, and faith, and thy patience, and thy works; and the last to be more than the first." The lives, faith, and works of this remnant were no doubt regulated by the Word of God; but this very circumstance ensured their obscurity, and their absence from the page of history. The *silver line* of God's sovereign grace could never be interrupted, and tens of thousands from the darkest ages shall reflect the glory of that grace for ever. In quietness they fulfilled their peaceful mission, and as peacefully passed off the scene, but left no record of their labours of love on the pages of the annalist. Not so with the proud, the ambitious, the fanatic, the hypocrite: all such stand prominent on the pages of ecclesiastical history. But there is another tribunal besides that of posterity before which both must stand, and be measured by God's own standard.

But we return to our theme—the state of religion in Scotland before the Reformation.

POPERY AS A SYSTEM.

The Word of God, which is able to make men wise unto salvation, was locked up from the people. Even the bishops were not ashamed to confess that they had never read any part

* See a graphic description of the state of religion in Scotland before the Reformation in Dr. M'Crie's "Life of John Knox," pp. 7-13.

of Sacred Scripture, except what they had met with in their missals. The religious service was mumbled over in a dead language, which many of the priests did not understand, and some of them could scarcely read ; and the greatest care was taken to prevent even catechisms, composed and approved by the clergy, from coming into the hands of the laity. The sacrifice of the mass was represented as procuring forgiveness of sins to the living and the dead ; and the consciences of men were withdrawn from the precious sacrifice—the finished work—of the Lord Jesus Christ, to a delusive reliance upon priestly absolutions, Papal pardons, and voluntary penances.

"They were taught," says the eminent historian of **John Knox,** "that if they regularly said their *aves* and *credos*, confessed themselves to a priest, punctually paid their tithes and Church-offerings, purchased a mass, went on a pilgrimage to the shrine of some celebrated saint, refrained from flesh on Fridays, or performed some other prescribed act of bodily mortification, their salvation was infallibly secured in due time. While those who were so rich and so pious as to build a chapel or an altar, and to endow it for the support of a priest, to perform masses, obits, and dirges, procured a relaxation of the pains of Purgatory for themselves or their relatives, in proportion to the extent of their liberality. It is difficult for us to conceive how empty, ridiculous, and wretched those harangues were which the monks delivered as sermons. Legendary tales concerning the founder of some religious order, his wonderful sanctity, the miracles which he performed, his combats with the Devil, his watchings, fastings, flagellations ; the virtues of holy water, crism, crossing, and exorcism ; the horrors of Purgatory, and the numbers released from it by the intercession of some powerful saint ; these, with low jests, table-talk, and fireside scandal, formed the favourite topics of the preachers, and were served up to the people instead of the pure, salutary, and sublime doctrines of the Bible.

"The beds of the dying were besieged, and their last moments disturbed, by avaricious priests, who laboured to extort bequests to themselves or to the Church. Not satisfied with exacting tithes from the living, a demand was made upon the dead. No sooner had the poor husbandman breathed his last, than the rapacious vicar came and carried off his *corpse-present*—or a present from the corpse to the vicar—which he did as often as death visited the family.* Ecclesiastical censures were fulminated

* The corpse-present was the vicar's perquisite in the case of death. In country parishes it consisted of the best cow which belonged to the deceased, and the uppermost covering of his bed, or the finest of his body-clothes. And this demand, which was exacted with great rigour in Scotland and in other places, was distinct from the ordinary dues exacted for the interment of the body, and the deliverance of the soul from Purgatory.

"And als the vicar, as I trow,
He will nocht fail to tak ane kow,
And upmaist claith, thocht babis hae nane,
From ane pure deid husbandman."

against those who were reluctant in making these payments, or who showed themselves disobedient to the clergy. Divine service was neglected ; and, except on festival days, the Churches, in many parts of the country, were no longer employed for sacred purposes, but served as sanctuaries for malefactors, places of traffic, or resorts for pastime.

" Persecution, and the suppression of free inquiry, were the only weapons by which its interested supporters were able to defend this system of corruption and imposture. Every avenue by which truth might enter was carefully guarded. Learning was branded as the parent of heresy. If any person, who had attained a degree of illumination amidst the general darkness, began to hint dissatisfaction with the conduct of Churchmen, and to propose the corrections of abuses, he was immediately stigmatised as a heretic, and, if he did not secure his safety by flight, was immured in a dungeon, or committed to the flames. And when at last, in spite of all their precautions, the light which was shining around did break in and spread through the nation, the clergy prepared to adopt the most desperate and bloody measures for its extinction."

It will now be unnecessary to trace the origin and progress of Popery in other lands. The above sketch of the condition of things in Scotland, from the thirteenth till the sixteenth century, may be sufficient to illustrate the state of all Europe, and for the purpose of history. As a system it is the same in all ages and in all countries. Its **grand dogma** has ever been—the Unity of the Roman Catholic Church. Whether it be in the immediate vicinity of Rome or in the far distant regions of the north, its spirit is the same, and must be so, until it comes to its end by the direct judgment of the Lord Himself from Heaven. " How much she hath glorified herself, and lived deliciously, so much torment and sorrow give her ; for she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow. Therefore shall her plagues come in one day, death, and mourning, and famine ; and she shall be utterly burned with fire : *for strong is the Lord God who judgeth her* " (Rev. 18. 7, 8).

THE SPREAD OF CHRISTIANITY.

From the time of Innocent III, Roman Catholic writers boast of the missionary zeal of the mendicant orders. They are spoken of as most assiduous in visiting prisons, hospitals, and places of imminent peril, in caring for the spiritual wants of the poor ; and that they were also the most active servants of the Church in the propagation of Christianity among remote and savage nations. So far this appears to have been the case in the thirteenth and fourteenth centuries ; but as all history goes to prove, that these mendicants were the most zealous agents of the Holy See in all

its ambitious schemes and worst practices throughout Christendom, it is difficult to give them credit for pure Christian zeal. From the methods they pursued and the results of their missions, it is more than obvious that they had chiefly in view their own advancement or the extension of the Papal sovereignty. Still, there may have been pious men amongst them, who were animated by higher motives, and laboured with disinterested devotion; and as the vices of the mendicants in general are notorious, we should be glad to record all the good of them we can.

From the time of the religious wars of Charlemagne to the exterminating wars in Languedoc, the **Roman missionaries** usually preached the Gospel of peace at the head of an army headed by bishops, and laid the pathway for its reception open by the sword; but in the thirteenth century, pious missionary bands of Dominicans and Franciscans were sent by the Roman Pontiffs to the Chinese, the Tartars, and the adjacent countries. Large numbers among these nations professed the Christian faith. John of Monte Corvino, a Franciscan, was distinguished by the success of his labours; and in 1307 Clement V erected an Archiepiscopal See at Cambalu, that is, Pekin, the modern capital of China. The same Pontiff sent seven other bishops, also Franciscans, into those regions; and this distant branch of the hierarchy was carefully nourished by succeeding Pontiffs. "So long as the Tartar Empire in China continued, not only the Latins, but the Nestorians also had liberty to profess their religion freely all over northern Asia, and to propagate it far and wide. But that most potent Emperor of the **Tartars**, *Timur-Bec*, having embraced Mohammedanism, persecuted with violence and the sword all who adhered to the Christian religion. The nation of the Tartars, in which such numbers once professed Christianity, universally submitted to the Koran. Thus the Christian religion was overthrown in those parts of Asia inhabited by the Chinese, the Tartars, the Moguls, and other nations, whose history is yet imperfectly known. At least no mention has been found of any Latin Christians resident in those countries subsequent to the year 1370. But of the Nestorians living in China, some traces can be found, though not very clear, as late as the sixteenth century."

Among the European princes, Jagello, Duke of Lithuana, **Poland,** was nearly the only one that still adhered to the idolatry of his ancestors. And he, in the year 1386, embraced the Christian rites, was baptised, and persuaded his subjects to do the same thing. What remains there were of the old religions in Prussia and Livonia, were extirpated by the Teutonic knights and Crusaders with war and massacres. In Spain the Saracens still held the sovereignty of Granada, Andalucia, and Murcia; and against them the Christian kings of Castile, Arragon, and

Navarre, waged perpetual war; and, though with difficulty, triumphed, and became sole masters of Spain in the fifteenth century under the reign of Ferdinand and Isabella.*

ON THE HISTORY OF POPERY.

We have traced, however briefly, the origin, progress, and loftiest height of the Papal system. This was reached by the great abilities of Innocent III. But how varied and full of all contrarieties and contradictions is that marvellous and mysterious history! We pause for a moment to reflect on the hypocrisies and tyrannies, the assumed piety and positive cruelty of that woman Jezebel. It was she who sent the choicest of her children in early times to dwell in the lonely mountain cave or the secret cloister, under the pretence of there peacefully contemplating the glory of God and being transformed to His image. But again we hear her with altered voice rallying the myriad hosts of Europe to go forth and rescue the Holy Land from the foul grasp of the uncircumcised Philistines, and defend the banner of the Cross on the holy sepulchre. Now she becomes callous to the common feelings of nature, insensible to the miseries of mankind, and stained with the blood of millions. For two hundred years she employed all her power in promoting the destruction of human life by the ruinous expeditions to the Holy Land. And as each successive Crusade proved more hopeless and disastrous than the former, she redoubled her exertions to renew and perpetuate those scenes of unequalled folly, suffering, and bloodshed.

But turn again and behold the double aspect of her character at the same moment. When the Crusaders came in sight of Jerusalem they alighted from their horses, and uncovered their feet, that they might approach the sacred walls as true pilgrims. Loud shouts were raised, O Jerusalem! Jerusalem! as if holy fear were moving their hearts. But when the governor offered to admit them as peaceful pilgrims, they refused. No, they were determined to open their way with their swords, and to wrest by military ardour the holy city from the hands of the unbelievers. Hardly had they scaled the walls when they rushed forth to the indiscriminate massacre of Mohammedans and Jews, and filled the holy places with blood. And then, for a little while, the work of carnage and plunder was suspended, that the pious pilgrims might perform their devotions; but the places on which they came to kneel in adoration were covered with slaughtered heaps. This is a true picture of the spirit and character of Jezebel as manifested in all ages and countries. When Dominic himself grew ashamed of the bloodstained missionaries of Innocent in Languedoc, having seen thousands

* Wadding on, vol. iii., p. 358; Mosheim, vol. ii., p. 592, &c.

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of the peaceful peasantry murdered in cold blood, he retired to a Church and prayed for the success of the good cause ; and the victories of Montfort and his ruffians were attributed to the prayers of the saintly-minded Spaniard. This was a crusade, not against Turks and Infidels, but against the saints of the Lord, because they dared to speak of certain abuses in holy mother Church. And, the more effectually to chastise her children, she invented the *Inquisition*, that engine of domestic persecution, torture, and death.

And, strange as it may seem now-a-days, and cruel beyond all compare, wholesale destruction of human life and property was **the very life-blood of Popery.** She grew rich by appropriating the contributions that were raised for the purposes of the Crusades ; and she grew strong through weakening the monarchs of Europe by exhausting their treasures and depopulating their countries. Thus was the Papal zeal inflamed to a burning passion for the Crusaders ; and thus it passed from Urban II and the Council of Clermont down to his successors. Every thought of the Papal mind, every feeling of the Papal heart, every mandate that issued from the Vatican, had but one object in view—the enriching and strengthening of the Roman See. No matter how subversive of all peace, how baneful to all society, she pursued her own interests with a callous uncompromising obduracy. *Excommunications* were used for the same purposes of Papal aggrandisement. "The heretic forfeited not only all dignities, rights, privileges, immunities, even all property, all protection of law ; he was to be pursued, taken, despoiled, put to death, either by the ordinary course of justice—the temporal authority was bound to execute, even to blood, the sentence of the ecclesiastical court—or if he dared to resist by any means whatever, however peaceful, he was an insurgent, against whom the whole of Christendom might, or rather was bound, as the summons of the spiritual power, to declare war ; his estates, even his dominions if a sovereign, were not merely liable to forfeiture, but the Church assumed the power of awarding the forfeiture, as it might seem best to her wisdom.

"The army which should execute the mandate of the Pope was the army of the Church, and the banner of that army was the Cross of Christ. So began crusades, not on the contested borders of Christendom, not in Mohammedan or heathen lands, in Palestine, on the shores of the Nile, among the Livonian forests or the sands of the Baltic, but in the very bosom of Christendom ; not among the implacable partisans of an antagonistic creed, but on the soil of Catholic France, among those who still called themselves by the name of Christian." *

Such was, and is, and ever must be, the spirit and character

* Milman, vol. iv., p. 168 ; Waddington, vol. ii., p. 270.

of the Church of Rome. How dark the picture! How sad the reflection, that she who calls herself the true Church of God, the holy mother of His children, and the representative of Christ on earth, should have been transformed, by Satanic agencies, into a monster of the most sickening hypocrisies, and "abominable idolatries!" She became the foster-mother of the most open, unbounded, saint, relic, picture, and image-worship—of the theory of transubstantiation, and the practice of the confessional. Outwardly her unscrupulous ambition for secular glory, her intolerance in persecuting to extermination all who ventured to dispute her authority, her insatiable thirst for human blood, have no parallel in the most barbarous ages of heathenism.

And is this the Church, thou mayest well exclaim in thy reflections—is this the Church that so many are joining in the present day? Yes, alas, alas; and so many of the upper and intelligent classes! Such conversions, surely, can only be the fruit of the blinding power of Satan, the god of this world (2 Cor. 4. 3, 4). Many young ladies from the best families in England have submitted, in blind devotion, to be shorn of their natural covering, and imprisoned in a nunnery for life; and many of the aristocracy, both lay and clerical, have joined the communion of the Romish Church. But she is not changed. The change is with those whose light has become darkness, according to the word of the prophet: "Give glory to the Lord your God, before He cause darkness, and before your feet stumble upon the dark mountains, and while ye look for light, He turn it into the shadow of death, and make it gross darkness" (Jer. 13. 16). As she was in the days of Gregory VII, Innocent III, Cardinal Pole, the bloody Mary, **so is she to-day** as to her spirit, had she only the power. But what must be the guilt of the English converts, with the New Testament before them and seeing the contrast between the blessed Lord and His apostles, and the Pope and his clergy; between the grace and mercy of the Gospel, and the intolerance and cruelty of Popery! Rather, remember the exhortation, "Come out of her, My people, that ye be not partakers of her sins, and that ye receive not of her plagues... For by her sorceries were all nations deceived; and in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth" (Rev. 18).

CHAPTER XXVIII

The Decline of Papal Power

FROM the time of Innocent III down to the age of the Reformation, the Lord was preparing the way for that great event, by weakening the power of the Popes over human governments, and over the minds of men generally. The decline was slow, at least for about a hundred years, for the whole power of Satan was put forth to support the "mystery of iniquity;" but it pleased God to weaken her power by raising up men of ability and integrity to expose her many evils. These witnesses we propose to examine in our next chapter. In the meantime we may add that the whole mind of Europe had become so familiarised with the assertion of the Papal claims, that they were accepted as an essential part of Christianity. The ruling idea of this great theocratic scheme was the absolute supremacy of the spiritual over the temporal power, "as of the soul over the body, as of eternity over time, as of Christ over Cæsar, as of God over man—that all earthly power is subordinate to the spiritual power in every respect, either mediately or immediately touching on or affecting religion or its chief." This principle, first asserted in all its fulness by Hildebrand, acquired its "firmest establishment and greatest expansion" in the able hands of Innocent. He stood on the summit of Pontifical power and glory. What had been the day-dream of many of his predecessors was fully realised during his Pontificate; but from this pinnacle the crowned priest begins to descend.

Details of the long and ruinous wars between the Papacy and the Empire which immediately followed, especially between Gregory IX, Innocent IV, and Frederick II, would be unsuited to our pages and unnecessary for the purpose of our history. We will therefore content ourselves with a rapid sketch of the leading Pontiffs during this

PERIOD OF PAPAL DECLINE.

In the year 1216, **Honorius III** succeeded Innocent. The whole attention of the new Pontiff was devoted to the promotion of the holy war. The Crusades had become so established an article in the Papal creed, and so necessary to the maintenance of the Papal power, that no cardinal who was not in heart and soul a Crusader would have been raised to the chair of St. Peter. This was the highest qualification of the chief priest of the Christian religion. Hence the first act of Honorius after his

installation was to send a circular letter to all Christendom, urging Christians in the most exciting terms to contribute either in money or in person to the new campaign. Frederick II, the Emperor-elect, in his youthful ardour, had made a solemn vow to Innocent to engage without loss of time in a new Crusade ; not against the now crushed Albigenses, whose ashes were still smouldering, but for the destruction of the Mohammedans, and the liberation of the holy sepulchre from infidel desecration. And no one in those times who had taken the vow was allowed to excuse himself. If unable to undertake the expedition in person, he must find substitutes or money. Letters were instantly dispatched to Frederick, reminding him of his late crusading vow, and pressing his immediate departure for the Holy Land. But Frederick was yet a youth, his rival Otho was still alive, his realm in the most unsettled state, so that he could not possibly leave for some time. Neither menace nor persuasion could move Frederick, though in him the Papal hopes were chiefly centred.

THE CONQUEST AND LOSS OF DAMIETTA.

The call was now fiercely sounded and the hymn of battle sung by the emissaries of the Pope throughout France, Germany, Italy, Spain, Hungary, and the whole of the West ; the kings, princes, and nobles were besieged and harassed to collect without delay, ships, men, money, arms, and all needed supplies. But the Pope found to his mortification that the enthusiasm of former ages had passed away—that Honorius had no longer the magic power of Urban. Neither Papal legates nor preaching friars could kindle in the hearts of the people a zeal for the holy war. Only one king obeyed the summons, Andrew of Hungary. Princes and prelates, dukes, archbishops and bishops, joined the Hungarian king. A large force was collected. The first object of attack was **Damietta,** which, after a siege of sixteen months, fell into the hands of the Crusaders. But the destruction of human life for this Papal folly was fearful. "The inhabitants had been so much reduced by famine, pestilence, and the sword, that out of eighty thousand only three thousand are said to have remained alive ; the air was tainted by the smell of corpses ; yet even in the midst of these horrors the captors could not restrain their cruelty and rapacity." *

The report of this splendid victory was received by the Pope with exultation. His hopes of ultimate success were stimulated to the highest pitch. But these hopes were soon to be disappointed. It was besieged the following year by an overwhelming force of infidels under the active and able leadership of Malek al Kamul, Sultan of Egypt and Syria. Damietta was surrendered.

* J. C. Robertson, vol. iii., p. 383.

The deep mortification of the Pope vented itself on the Emperor. The failure of the expedition, the calamities of the Christians, were ascribed to his wilful procrastination. It is supposed that thirty-five thousand Christians, and about seventy thousand Mussulmans had perished at Damietta. But defeat and disaster only stimulated the zeal of the Pontiff for fresh Crusades. During a reign of eleven years, Honorius had been chiefly engaged in promoting crusades against the Albigenses in the south of France and against the Saracens in Palestine. In 1227 he died, still pressing the departure of Frederick, and, we are not sorry to add, still pressing it in vain.

GREGORY IX AND FREDERICK II.

Gregory IX, a near relation of Innocent III, and a staunch disciple of his school, was immediately raised to the Pontifical throne with loud and unanimous acclamations. His coronation was of the most gorgeous character. "He returned from St. Peter's wearing two crowns, mounted on a horse richly caparisoned, and surrounded by cardinals, clothed in purple, and a numerous clergy. The streets were spread with tapestry, inlaid with gold and silver, the noblest productions of Egypt, and the most brilliant colours of India, and perfumed with various aromatic odours." * He had reached his eighty-first year when he ascended the throne of St. Peter. But at that extreme age his mental faculties were unimpaired. He is spoken of as having the ambition, the vigour, almost the activity, of youth; in purpose and action, inflexible; in temper, warm and vehement.

Frederick, it will be remembered, was a ward of Inncoent III. The adventures, perils, and successes of the youthful king, as he struggled upward to his hereditary throne in Sicily, and to the imperial crown of Germany, are almost unparalleled in history. During the pontificate of Honorius his character was expanding into the prime of manhood. He was thirty-three when the Pontiff died. At this time he was in undisputed possession of the Empire, with all its rights in northern Italy; king of Apulia, Sicily, and Jerusalem. Historians vie with each other in their descriptions of his character, and the enumeration of his virtues and vices.

Milman, in his usual poetical style, describes him as at once the magnificent sovereign, the gallant knight, the poet, the lawgiver, the patron of arts, letters, and science, whose far-seeing wisdom seemed to anticipate some of those views of equal justice, of the advantages of commerce, of the cultivation of the arts of peace, and the toleration of adverse religions, which even in a more dutiful son of the Church would doubtless have seemed godless indifference.

* Waddington, vol. ii., p. 281.

Others describe him as at once selfish and generous, placable and cruel, courageous and faithless ; and not forbidding himself the most licentious indulgences. His personal accomplishments were remarkable. He could speak fluently the languages of all the nations which were reckoned among his subjects—Greek, Latin, Italian, German, French, and Arabic.

Both the Papacy and the Empire were now represented by able and resolute champions of their respective claims. Frederick would bear no superior, Gregory no equal. The Emperor was determined to maintain his monarchical rights ; the Pope was equally determined to maintain the Papal dignity as above the imperial. The mortal strife began ; it was the last contest between the Empire and the Papacy ; but the Crusaders were indispensable to Papal victory.

The aged canonist addressed himself to his work. His first and immediate act after his coronation was to urge the renewal of the Crusades at the various courts of Europe. But his appeals were addressed to deaf ears. Lombardy, France, England, and Germany persisted in their hostility to the Crusades and to their promoters. The fall of Damietta was fresh in their minds. Nothing, therefore, remained to the obdurate old man but to push on Frederick. Although, for political reasons, he was unwilling to leave his dominions, yet, to please the Pope, he collected a considerable armament of men and ships, and embarked from Brindisi. But a pestilence broke out, which carried off many of his soldiers ; and among them the Langrave of Thuringia and two bishops. The Emperor himself, after being three days at sea, was overtaken by the malady, and returned to land for the benefit of the baths. This caused the dispersion of the army, and the temporary abandonment of the expedition.

FREDERICK DISREGARDS THE PAPAL EXCOMMUNICATION.

The Pope was infuriated. He treated the story of his illness as an empty pretence, and, without waiting or asking for explanation, he launched the sentence of excommunication against the perjured outcast, Frederick of Swabia. This took place within six months from his elevation to the See, and from that day Frederick found but little rest in this world, till he found it in his grave. In vain did he send bishops to plead his cause, and witnesses to the reality of his sickness. The Pope's only answer was : " You fraudulently pretended sickness, and returned to your palaces to enjoy the delights of leisure and luxury ; " and he renewed the excommunication again and again, requiring all bishops to publish it.

But in place of Frederick being humbled, and brought before

Gregory IX, as Henry IV was brought before Gregory VII at Canosa, he boldly denounced the whole system of Popery. "Your predecessors," he wrote to Gregory, "have never ceased to encroach upon the rights of kings and princes; they have disposed of their lands and territories, and distributed them among the minions and favourites of their court; they have dared to absolve subjects from their oaths of allegiance; they have even introduced confusion into the administration of justice, by binding and loosing, and persisting, without regard to the laws of the land. Religion was the pretext for all those trespasses upon the civil government; but the real motive was a desire to subjugate governors and subjects alike to an intolerable tyranny —to extort money, and so long as that was to be got, to care little if the whole structure of society were shaken to its foundations." And many other things of a like nature did Frederick dare to say, which shows the weakened state of the Papal power. At the same time he was a good Catholic king in many respects, enacting severe laws against the heretics; but he wanted the Pope to keep his own place and rule the Church, and leave him to rule the Empire. He was willing that the Pope should be the *clerical*, but he must be the *lay* chief.*

Frederick's great crime, in the mind of the fanatical Pontiff, was his reluctance to go to the Holy Land. He had preferred the interests of his Empire to the orders of the Holy See. This prudential calculation was his unpardonable sin. He did not see the sense of sacrificing men, money, and ships without a reasonable prospect of success. He was resolved, however, to fulfil his vow and prove his sincerity as a soldier of the Cross.

In the end of June, 1228, he again sailed from Brindisi. Much of the deadly animosity against the Mohammedans which had animated the older Crusaders had passed away. Frederick was on friendly terms with the Sultan; so that, instead of seeking by fire and sword the extermination of the followers of Mohammed the Emperor proposed a peaceful treaty. This was agreed to by the generous Kamul, and a treaty was concluded on the 18th of February, 1229, by which **Jerusalem was to be made over to the Christians,** with the exception of the temple, which, although open to them, was to remain under the care of the Moslem. Nazareth, Bethlehem, Sidon, and other places, were to be given up. By this treaty the Crusaders had gained more than they had for many years ventured to expect as possible.†

But this bloodless victory, gained by an excommunicated monarch, exasperated the hoary Pontiff to frenzy. He denounced, in terms of furious resentment, the unheard-of presumption of one under the ban of the Church daring to set

* See a long letter to Henry III, of England, by the Emperor, in which he justly and severely reproaches the Roman Church. Waddington's "History," vol. ii., p. 281.

† J. C. Robertson, vol. iii., p. 393.

his unhallowed foot on the sacred soil of the Saviour's passion and resurrection ; and bewailed the pollution which the city and the holy places had contracted from the Emperor's presence. But God overruled this remarkable event, in His providence, to lay bare to all mankind the hollowness of Gregory's professed enthusiasm for the liberation of the Holy Land. His own Papal and personal dignity were a thousand times dearer to him than the birth-place of Christ. He resorted to every device which his own inventive malice, and that of his advisers, could suggest to accomplish the failure of the expedition and the ruin of Frederick. His minorite friars were dispatched to the patriarch and the military orders of Jerusalem, to throw every impediment in the way, with the expressed intent that Frederick might find either a grave or a dungeon in Palestine. A plot was laid by some Templars for surprising Frederick on an expedition to bathe in the Jordan ; but, the plot being discovered, the Templars were disappointed. The revengeful old man, however, had not yet done plotting. He collected a considerable force, and, headed by John of Brienne, invaded the Apulian dominions of the Emperor. Tidings of these movements brought Frederick with all speed from the East. The Papal armies fled at his approach, and the whole country was rapidly recovered by the influence of his presence.

But the Papal sword was now drawn—the sword of implacable strife and discord. During the course of a long reign, Frederick, the greatest of the Swabian house, " was excommunicated for not taking the Cross, excommunicated for not setting out to the Holy Land, excommunicated for setting out, excommunicated in the Holy Land, excommunicated for returning, after having made an advantageous peace with the Mohammedans," was deposed from his throne, and his subjects absolved from their oath of allegiance. But without attempting further to describe the military adventures of the Empire, or to trace the faithless politics of the Papacy, we will only add, that the wretched old Pontiff died in his ninety-ninth year, in the midst of hostilities, and from a fit of wrathful agitation. He was succeeded by Innocent IV, who followed in the footsteps of Innocent III and Gregory IX. The cause of Frederick gained nothing by the change of Pontiffs. He lived till the year 1250, when, in the fifty-sixth year of his age and the twenty-seventh of his reign, he died in the arms of his son, Manfred, having confessed, and received absolution from the faithful Archbishop of Palermo.

With the death of Frederick we might suppose that Papal hostilities would have at least paused for a little ; but it was far otherwise. The hatred that followed him to his grave, and far beyond it, pursued his sons, until it was extinguished in the blood of the last scion of his house on the scaffold, at Naples.

The war was carried on between what was called the Guelphic and the Ghibelline armies, or the Papal and the Imperial factions. Pope Clement IV invited the cruel Count Charles of Anjou, the brother of Louis IX, to hasten to the help of the Guelphic army, with the promise of the crown of Sicily. "He accepted," says Greenwood, "the Papal commission with the eagerness of an adventurer, and in the reckless spirit of a Crusader. He was one of the most accomplished of the tyrants that figure in the world's history; cruelty, rapacity, lust, and corruption, wrought their perfect work under his command." With a large army, which had been raised for the rescue of the Holy Land, he entered Italy. Some of the bravest of the chivalry and gentry of France were in this "army of the Cross." But in place of going to assist their brethren in Palestine against the Mohammedans, the Pope absolved them from their vow, promised them the forgiveness of sins and eternal blessedness, to turn their arms against their brethren of the house and followers of the late Emperor. This was Papal zeal and honesty for the deliverance of the holy sepulchre.

Charles of Anjou being crowned King of Sicily, the pilgrims received a licence to slay and plunder in the quarters pointed out by the Pope; and under his direction they invaded the fairest portions of the Emperor's dominions. But he was in his grave, and the magic of his name was gone. His sons hastened to collect such adventurers as their finances enabled them to assemble. The contest for a time was doubtful, but the well-disciplined chivalry of France at length overcame the ill-trained bands of the young princes. Manfred fell in battle, Conrad was cut off suddenly by death, and the younger, Conradin, with his youthful cousin, Prince Frederick of Bavaria, were taken prisoners and beheaded by Charles in the public square at Naples.

Christendom heard with a shudder the news of this unparalleled atrocity. For no other crime than fighting for his hereditary throne against the Pope's pretender, Conradin, the last heir of the Swabian house, was executed as a felon and a rebel on a public scaffold. The Pope was charged with participation in the murder of the son and heir of kings; he had put the sword into the tyrant's hands, and must stand before the tribunal of Divine and human judgment, as stained with the blood of Conradin. In the end of the following month the detested Pope followed his victim to the grave, beyond which it is not our province to go; but sure we are that the Judge of all the earth will do right, and that from the throne of Divine righteousness he will hear the sentence of eternal justice, which admits of no succeeding change for ever. The fire is everlasting, the worm never dies, the chain can never be broken, the walls can never be scaled, the gates can never be opened, the past can never be

forgotten, the upbraidings of conscience can never be silenced—everything combines to fill the soul with the agonies of despair, and that for ever and ever. Who would not desire, above all things, to be pardoned and saved through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, who died to save the chief of sinners? (Mark 9. 44-50).

THE OVERRULING HAND OF GOD.

In the providence of God this odious crime, which could never be forgotten by the monarchs and people of Europe, must have tended greatly to discredit and weaken the Papal power, and to strengthen the hands of the civil ruler against the usurpations and encroachments of the Church of Rome. The change becomes more apparent from this date. The tragical death of Conradin of Hohenstaufen, and of Frederick of Bavaria, took place in 1268, and the famous "**Pragmatic Sanction**" became the "Magna Charta" of the Gallican Church in 1269. This document was issued by the most pious king, Louis IX of France, who is commonly called St. Louis. The whole tone of this edict is anti-Papal. It limits the interference of the court of Rome in the elections of the clergy, and directly denies its right of ecclesiastical taxation, except with the sanction of the king and the Church of France. Nothing could be more just and liberal, but nothing could more directly oppose the pretensions of the See of Rome. Under the fostering care of the civil lawyers, who were now establishing in the minds of men a rival authority to that of the hierarchy and canon law, the Pragmatic Sanction became a great charter of independence to the Gallican Church.

This antipapal edict, coming from the most religious of kings—a canonised saint—awoke no opposition on the part of the Roman See. Had such a law been promulgated by Frederick II, or any of his race, the effect would have been very different. But it is more than probable that neither Louis nor the Pope foresaw what would be made of this pious decree—originally intended for the benefit and reformation of the clergy. But in the hands of Parliaments, lawyers, and ambitious monarchs, it became the barrier against which the encroachments and lofty pretensions of Rome were destined to be broken to pieces.

Before concluding our already rather long chapter, we must briefly glance at the Pontificate of Boniface VIII, as it is the crowning evidence of the Papal decline, and the hinge on which its future history turns.

BONIFACE VIII AND PHILIP THE FAIR.

A.D. 1295 TO 1303.

In less than forty years from the promulgation of this famous edict, the proud and imperious Pontiff, **Boniface VIII,** was openly defied by the King of France. He was the first to teach

the nations of Europe that the Roman bishop could be vanquished, and be trampled under the feet of the sovereign, as they had trampled for ages the sovereigns of Europe under their feet. Philip the Fair—so called from his personal appearance, certainly not from his actions—was as high-minded, as strong-handed, as arrogant, as jealous, as violent, as unrelenting as Boniface, and even surpassed him in craft and subtlety. The pride of Boniface was his ruin; it acknowledged no limits, and disdained to bend to circumstances, and no considerations of religion, policy, or humanity could repress his violence and cruelty. But the high looks and the haughty pride of the prelate were soon to be brought low. He was deeply involved in many quarrels with many nations, sovereigns, and noble families; but the crafty and powerful King of France proved more than his match. When Boniface sent an extravagant demand to Philip, he sent back a contemptuous reply. And when bull after bull, in burning wrath, issued from the Vatican against the king, he caused them to be publicly burned at Paris, and sent back a message to his holiness that it was the office of a Pope to exhort, not to command, and that he would suffer no dictator in his affairs.

But matters could not stop here. Philip determined on humbling his adversary. In strengthening his position against the proceedings of Rome, he had recourse to the most constitutional means. While Boniface was offending the population of France by his intemperate attacks on the king, the politic king was attracting the admiration of his people by standing up for the dignity of his crown and the welfare of the nation against the encroachments of the Pope. He assembled the nobles and prelates of France, and with them summoned the representatives of the third estate, the burgesses of France—said to be the first convocation of the States General. This plan was soon followed by other kings, which deeply affected the future history of the Papacy. The king had the satisfaction of obtaining a strong protest against the Papal demands, and the assertion of the independence of the crown.

Boniface, not perceiving this crisis in his own history and in that of the Papacy, blindly pursued with an ill-timed arrogance his former course. Addressing Philip in a letter, he says: "God has set me over the nations and the kingdoms, to root out and pull down, to destroy, to build, to plant in His Name and by His doctrine. Let no one persuade you, my son, that you have no superior, or that you are not subject to the chief of the ecclesiastical hierarchy. He who holds that opinion is senseless, and he who obstinately maintains it is an infidel, separate from the flock of the Good Shepherd. Wherefore we declare, define, and pronounce, that it is absolutely essential to the salvation of every human being, that he be subject to the Roman Pontiff."

The king's answer was moderate, but firm and defiant. Perplexities increased. Not content with these assertions, the Pope laid an interdict upon France, excommunicated the king, and offered his crown to another. But Philip, in no wise troubled with these censures, which were now powerless, published an ordinance which prohibited the exportation of all gold, silver, jewels, arms, horses, or other munitions of war from the realm. By this ordinance the Pope himself was deprived of his revenues from France.

THE HUMILIATION OF THE PONTIFF.

Burning with rage, Boniface repeated and redoubled his menaces. But Philip now determined on a shorter path to settle the contest. He dispatched a trustworthy officer, **Nogaret,** with Sciarra Colonna, a member of a noble Italian house which Boniface had ruined and desolated, and who was, of course, the sworn enemy of the Pope. These, with other adventurers, and three hundred armed horsemen, had strict orders to arrest the Pope wherever he might be found, and bring him a prisoner to Paris. The perplexed old man—now in his eighty-sixth year—had retired to his palace at Anagni, his native place, to compose another bull, in which he maintained, "that as Vicar of Christ, he had the power to govern kings with a rod of iron, and to dash them to pieces like a potter's vessel." But his blasphemous assumption of omnipotence was soon turned into a spectacle of human weakness and death.

A shout was heard. The Pope, and the cardinals, who were all assembled around him, were startled with the trampling of armed horse, and the terrible cry, "Death to Pope Boniface! Long live the King of France!" The soldiers were immediately masters of the Pontifical palace. Nearly all the cardinals, and even the personal attendants of the Pope fled. He was left alone, but he lost not his self-command. Like the English Thomas à Becket, he awaited the final blow with courage and resolution. He hurriedly threw the mantle of St. Peter over his shoulders, placed the crown of Constantine on his head, grasped the keys in one hand and the Cross in the other, and seated himself on the Papal throne. His age, intrepidity, and religious majesty, struck the conspirators with awe. When Nogaret and Colonna saw the venerable form and dignified composure of their enemy, they refrained from their sanguinary purpose, and satisfied themselves with heaping vulgar abuse on the wretched old Pontiff. The wrongs inflicted on the families and friends of these officers by the cruel Pope had extinguished every feeling towards him but revenge. But in the providence of God they were restrained from shedding the blood of a helpless old man in his eighty-sixth year.

While the leaders were thus employed, the body of the conspirators had dispersed themselves throughout the splendid apartments in eager pursuit of plunder. "The palaces of the Pope," says Milman, "and of his nephew were plundered. So vast was the wealth, that the annual revenues of all the kings in the world would not have been equal to the treasures found and carried off by Sciarra's freebooting soldiers. His very private chamber was ransacked. Nothing was left but bare walls."

At length the people of **Anagni** were aroused to insurrection. They assaulted the soldiers by whom they had been overawed. But as they were now in possession of the plunder, and the Pope imprisoned, they were not unwilling to withdraw. The Pope was restored to his freedom; infuriated by the disgrace of his captivity, he hurried to Rome burning with revenge. But the violence of his passion overpowered his reason; he refused nourishment; he cried for revenge; but he was now impotent as other men. He removed all his attendants, shut himself up in a room lest any one might see him die—but he died; and he died alone; and will stand before the judgment-seat of God alone, and have to answer alone for the deeds done in the body, and under a responsibility entirely his own. We cross not the line; but what, oh, what must the eternal portion be of one, of whom impartial history says, "Of all the Roman Pontiffs, Boniface has left the darkest name for craft, arrogance, ambition, even for avarice and cruelty." *

REFLECTIONS ON THE DEATH OF BONIFACE.

Five hundred and seventy-two years have rolled heavily and drearily over the dark regions of Hell since Boniface died by his own suicidal course. What time for reflection, reproach, remorse, despair! Why, oh why, will men, intelligent men, risk an eternity of misery for a few short years of earthly glory, or sensual gratification, or the love of self in any way? But, alas, the most solemn warnings are disregarded; the most gracious invitations of mercy are rejected, in the eager chase after their own selfish object. And when they have reached it, what is it? How much do they enjoy it? How long do they possess it? Only nine years did Boniface reign as supreme Pontiff; and in order to secure that shadowy gleam of glory, he accomplished privately the murder of his predecessor Celestine, whom he had supplanted. But as a man sows, so must he also reap. Celestine has the compassions and sympathies of posterity; but over **the tomb of Boniface** all posterity has written: "He mounted the chair like a fox, he reigned like a lion, he died like a dog." And so it was, without the consolations of the mercy of God

* See Dean Milman, vol. v., p. 143; Dean Waddington, vol. ii., p. 319; Greenwood, vol. vi., p. 277.

and without the tender ministries of man, he died. When his bedroom door was burst open, he was found cold and stiff. His white locks were stained with blood, the top of his staff bore the marks of his teeth, and was covered with foam.

How happy they, we are ready to exclaim, who have an inheritance incorruptible, undefiled, and that fadeth not away, reserved in Heaven for all whose faith and hope are firmly fixed on Christ alone. They are the children of God by faith in Christ Jesus ; they belong to the royal family of Heaven ; they need not seek after earthly glory ; they are heirs of God and joint-heirs with Christ. They have a throne that can never be shaken, a crown that can never be cast to the ground, a sceptre that can never be plucked from their hands, an inheritance that can never be alienated. Still they can afford to linger over the melancholy end of a fellow-sinner with profound pity, and seek to turn that scene of darkest and deepest sorrow into an occasion of spiritual profit for others. One look of faith to the Saviour would have been life to his soul, chief of sinners though he was, and the first look of faith is eternal life to the chief of sinners to-day. " Look unto Me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth, for I am God, and there is none else " (Isa. 45. 22).

But we must now return to our history.

THE POPES OF AVIGNON.

We have been at some pains to present to our readers, as fully as our space would admit, the quarrel between Boniface and Philip, as it is one of the great epochs in the Papal history. From this moment it sank rapidly and never rose again to the same commanding height. But the degradation of the Papal chair was not yet complete according to the hard and unrelenting spirit of Philip. His next object was to have the Pope under his own eye, and as his abject slave. This he accomplished in Clement V, who was raised to the chair in the year 1305. His election led to the most debasing period in the history of the Romish Church. Clement, who was a native of France. and the king's obedient servant, immediately transferred the Papal residence from Rome to Avignon. The Pope was now a French prelate, Rome was no longer the metropolis of Christendom. This period of banishment lasted about seventy years, and is spoken of in history as the Babylonian captivity of the Popes in Avignon. The great line of mediaeval Pontiffs, the Gregorys, the Alexanders, and the Innocents, expired with Boniface VIII. After seventy years of exile they emerged from their state of slavery to the kings of France, but only to resume a modified supremacy.

Philip survived his adversary eleven years ; he died A.D. 1314. History speaks of him as one of the most unprincipled, evil-

hearted kings that ever reigned. But nothing so blackens his memory as his cruel assault on the order of the Templars. His avarice was excited by their wealth, and he resolved on the dissolution of the order, the destruction of the leaders, and the appropriation of their wealth. He knew that thousands of the best manors in France belonged to the institution, and that the spoils of such a company would make him the richest king in Christendom. In order to lay his hand on such treasures, he first sought to discredit the knights because of their defeat at Courtrai—the battle of the Spurs ; then he exacted the consent of his creature, Pope Clement V, and summoned a council of the realm to sanction the suppression of the order. Having now these authorities to support him—the sacred and the civil—his covetous and cruel ends were gained. Numbers of these gallant Christian knights—for such they were, though they had greatly degenerated from their original vows—were seized and thrown into prison, on a charge of having dishonoured the Cross, and trampled on the sign of salvation. The severest tortures were applied to crush out confessions of guilt. Numbers were condemned and burned alive, sixty-eight were burned alive at Paris in 1310. The Grand Master, James de Molay, was also burned at Paris in 1314. Letters were sent to all other kings and princes, under the sanction of the Pope and Philip, to pursue the same course. But the European sovereigns in general were satisfied with the spoils, and adopted gentler methods in dissolving the order.

The reader may here note for further examination what we may call a new division in the history of Europe. The *Papacy*, *Feudalism*, and *Knighthood*, which had risen and flourished together since about the time of Charlemagne, **fell together** during the reign of Philip the Fair.

But a heavy cloud was gathering over the house of the cruellest and worst of kings. The darkest shades of immorality covered with shame and disgrace his whole family. The deep dishonour of **the Royal House of France,** through the infidelity of his queen and his three daughters-in-law sank into his heart and hastened his end. The people now said, it is the vengeance of Heaven for the outrage on Boniface. Others said, it is for the iniquitous persecution and extinction of the Templars. But he was now before a tribunal without the shelter of a Pope, or the sanction of a national assembly, and must answer to God for every deed done in the body, and for every word uttered by his lips ; for even the thoughts and counsels of the heart must be brought into judgment. And neither the purple nor the ermine can shelter a sinner there ; nothing but the blood of Christ, sprinkled as it were on the door-posts of the heart before we leave this world, can be of any avail in the waters of death. Those who neglect

to apply the blood of Christ by faith now, must be engulfed for ever in the cold, deep, dark waters of eternal judgment. But the blood of Jesus Christ, God's Son, cleanses us who believe from all sin.

We now leave this fresh division of our history, and take up the line of witnesses, and the forerunners of the Reformation.

CHAPTER XXIX

The Forerunners of the Reformation

IN a former chapter we brought down the line of witnesses for the truth of God and the Gospel of our Lord Jesus Christ to the great Albigensian war, during which so many of them were slain. We have also brought down the history of the Papacy to its humiliation and fall in Boniface VIII, and to its banishment from the throne of St. Peter with all its traditionary majesty and glory in Clement V. We will now return to the chain of witnesses which we believe has been maintained unbroken since the earliest times ; through the *silver line* of God's grace has often been so overlaid and obscured that it became difficult to trace its path. Still, it was ever bright to the eye of God, and the mirror on which His own grace and glory were reflected.

THE FIRST GREAT SCHOOLS OF LEARNING.

The rise of public schools or academies in the twelfth century, and the increase of intellectual activity, no doubt contributed greatly to the weakening of the Papacy and the feudal aristocracy. This led the way to the rise and the establishment of the third estate in the realm—the middle classes—and to commercial enterprise. The enlightenment and the liberties of Europe from this period steadily advanced. Schools were erected almost everywhere ; the thirst for knowledge increased. "The kings and princes of Europe seeing what advantages a nation may derive from the cultivation of literature and the useful arts, invited learned men to their territories, encouraged a taste for information, and rewarded them with honours and emoluments." But with such an increase of mental activity, many wild and dangerous doctrines and opinions were taught. Scholastic theology, Aristotelian philosophy, sacred and civil law, had their place and reputation by turns. It was about this time—the middle of the twelfth century—that the great universities of **Oxford, Cambridge, and Paris** were founded, with many others on the continent. Greek and Hebrew were studied, and lectures given in the way of expositions and commentaries on the Holy Scriptures, which the Lord could use in blessing to the students, and through them to others.

"To impose some restraint," says Dean Waddington, "on this great intellectual licentiousness—to revive some respect for ancient authorities—to erect some barrier, or at least some landmark, for the guidance of his contemporaries, **Peter the Lombard** published his celebrated "Book of the Sentences." Having

studied for some time in the famous school at Bologna, he proceeded to Paris for the purpose of prosecuting his studies in divinity. The Book of the Sentences is a collection of passages from the Fathers, especially, from St. Hilary, St. Ambrose, St. Jerome, and St. Augustine—a sad mixture, no doubt, of truth and error ; but the Lord is above all and could use His own Word, though intermixed with fashionable subtleties, for the conversion and blessing of souls. It long retained an undisputed supremacy in the theological schools, and its author was raised to great honours.

THE REAL WORTHIES OF ECCLESIASTICAL HISTORY.

The true pioneers of the Reformation, and the real worthies of ecclesiastical history, are difficult to discover. In humility of mind, and not seeking the praise of men, they walked before the Lord, quietly doing His will. Their ministrations of sympathy, their deeds of charity, their desire to lead souls to the Saviour, their endeavours to spread the knowledge of His Word, are features of character but little observed by the eye of the historian. And the deeper their piety, the greater their obscurity. But they have their reward ; their record is on high. Multitudes of God's saints during the long dark night of the middle ages thus fulfilled their mission, and passed off the scene without leaving a trace of their usefulness in the annals of time. Not so the pompous prelate, the wonder-working saint, the intriguing rapacious cardinal, the noisy polemics, and the whole host of proud ambitious enthusiasts ; the pages of the annalist are principally consecrated to such.*

After a careful examination of the **prominent characters** which appear on the page of history from the twelfth century to the Reformation, they seem to fall into three distinct classes : (1) Literary men ; (2) Theologians ; (3) Reformers, or Protestants. By noticing these in order we shall have the forerunners of the Reformation fairly before us.

LITERARY MEN.

The chief of this class were such men as Dante, Petrarch, Boccaccio, and our English Chaucer. Soon after the founding of colleges, and the great uprising of the human mind, these four "stars of literature" arose almost simultaneously. It pleased God, in His infinite wisdom, to use the writings of these men, and many others, for the exposure of the evils of the Romish system, and for the weakening of its power. And while many of lesser note, and for smaller crimes, suffered bonds, imprisonment, and death, these writers were allowed, not only to escape the vengeance of the Church, but to pursue their own

* Waddington, vol. iii., p. 363.

course. Their attractive literary productions gave them such favour generally, that the priests were afraid to molest them. Thus, in the providence of God, the hitherto half-concealed corruption of morals which prevailed among the clergy, monks, and every order of the system, was brought out into broad daylight ; under the veil of popular poems, pleasant tales, and satires, the corrupt state of the whole ecclesiastical system was exposed. The unbridled passions and the unblushing immoralities of the court of Avignon, and the vices of the clergy generally, became the chief subject of song and jest in almost every country in Europe. But neither the poetry nor the prose of such writers is fit to be repeated in our pages.

Dante, who is considered the father of Italian poetry, and celebrated chiefly for his imaginative description of Purgatory Hell, and Heaven, died A.D. 1321. Petrarch, who was some years younger, had even a greater reputation for prose. Less is said of Boccaccio, his writings being of a grosser character. **Chaucer** is well known in this country as the author of "Canterbury Tales." He was born in 1328, and died in 1400. But enough of this class, we now turn to—

THE THEOLOGIANS.

Robert Grostête, or Greathead, an English prelate of the twelfth century, will illustrate what we mean by a theologian, and protester, though not, strictly speaking, a reformer. Like many others in all ages, his views of reformation extended only to the discipline and administration of the Church, not to the uprooting and the pulling down of the incurably false thing as in the sixteenth century. He strongly held a high view of the Papacy, though he might speak of individual Popes as Antichrist, because of their immorality or rebellion against Christ. But the antichristian character of the Papacy was not yet known, and the grand fundamental truths of Christianity but indistinctly apprehended. Grostête was born at Stradbroke, in Suffolk, about the year 1175. After having studied at Oxford, he went to Paris, which was then the fashion, as the Paris University was the most renowned in Europe. Then he studied both Greek and Hebrew, and completely mastered the French language. According to the ideas of the age, he was considered a consummate theologian and philosopher.

In the year 1235, when he was sixty years of age, he became Bishop of Lincoln, and laboured with an almost intolerant zeal and earnestness for the reformation of his diocese, which was one of the largest in England. He is said to have been much occupied in the study of the Holy Scriptures in their original languages, and owned their sovereign authority. This was a great advance on the past, and in the right direction ;

still, there were glaring inconsistencies as we now contemplate them. He was at first greatly captivated with the new orders the Dominicans and Franciscans—because of their apparent sanctity ; but he lived to discover their hypocrisy and to denounce them as the deceivers of mankind. True reform denounced the *existence*, not merely the abuses, of the orders to be entirely opposed to the Word of God. At the same time he was a bold, pious, and energetic man. He lifted up his voice against the blasphemous assumption of Innocent III, when he proclaimed himself to be the Vicar, not merely of St. Peter, but of God. "To follow a Pope," he said, "who rebels against the will of Christ, is to separate from Christ and His body ; and if ever the time should come when all men follow an erring Pontiff, then will be the great apostasy." The rapacity of the Roman court, the abuse of indulgences, the bestowal of patronage on unfit and undeserving persons, were amongst the evils against which he contended. A bishop so active, so zealous, and so fearless, was sure to create many enemies. He was accused of magic by his contemporaries, and of daring presumption by the Pope. He barely escaped martyrdom. Through the Lord's tender mercy and the care of His servant, he died in peace, in the year 1253.*

Roger Bacon, a man of superior genius and penetration, who had a clear perception of the state of things, both in the schools and in the Church, deserves a brief notice, though there is not much evidence of his genuine piety and love of evangelical truth. He is said to have been the greatest of English philosophers before the time of his celebrated namesake. About the year 1214, he was born near Ilchester, in Somersetshire.

After studying at Oxford and Paris, he became a Franciscan friar at the age of thirty-four. His knowledge of physical science —astronomy, optics, mechanics, chemistry—as well as of Greek and Oriental learning, exposed him to the popular but dangerous reputation of a magician. His researches placed him immensely in advance of his monastic superiors, who found a convenient refuge for their ignorance in charging the friar with dealings in magic. He was greatly persecuted, and was many years confined in a loathsome dungeon.

Though he speaks with great respect of the Holy Scriptures, he strangely contends for an alliance between philosophy and Christianity, reason and faith. He denounces the sophistry of the fashionable learning of his time, and complains that the original languages of the New and Old Testament were neglected ; that children got the knowledge of Scripture, not from the Bible itself, but from versified abridgments ; that lectures on the "Sentences" were preferred to lectures on Scripture. In this

* Milner, vol. iii., p. 188; J. C. Robertson, vol. iii., p. 431; D'Aubigné, vol. i., p. 99.

way he exposed the ignorance, the superstition, and the idleness of the religious orders, and so brought down upon himself the charge of heresy and the censures of the Church, though he lived and died a strict Roman Catholic, probably about the year 1292. His last work was a compendium of theology.

Thomas Aquinas, the "angelic doctor," was the most renowned of the schoolmen in the thirteenth century, and the truest type of a theologian. He was descended from an illustrous family, and born in the neighbourhood of Naples about the year 1225. He entered very young into the Dominican order, greatly against the will of his nearest relations, and studied at Cologne and Paris. In 1257 he was professor of theology in Paris; but died at the early age of fifty, and was canonised by the Pope. When his collected writings were published at Rome, in the year 1570, they extended to seventeen folio volumes.

The ecclesiastical doctors of our own day tell us—for we are wholly unacquainted with the writings of such authors—that among the best known of his works are, the "Sum of Theology," a commentary on the four Gospels, and on other books of the Old and New Testament; an elaborate commentary on the "Sentences" of Peter Lombard, the great text-book of the schools, his expositions of Aristotle, and a treatise in favour of the Catholic faith, and against the Greek Church. But notwithstanding the greatness of his learning and the number of his books, it is to be feared that he was a stranger to the saving doctrine of justification by faith alone, without the deeds of the law; though, when on his death-bed, he showed great signs of piety, similar to that of Augustine. So that we may hope he belonged to the saved remnant of the schoolmen in those days. We rejoice in the conviction that there will be a saved remnant in Heaven from all classes—emperors, kings, Popes, and philosophers, which will manifest the sovereignty and the power of the grace of God in all ages, and to all classes of men. The riches and the glory of the grace will be to His praise for ever.

Bonaventura, a native of Tuscany, entered into the order of the Franciscans in the year 1243, at the age of twenty-one. He completed his studies at Paris, and with such success, as to acquire the title of the "seraphic doctor." He died in 1274, as cardinal-bishop of Albano. His works were less voluminous than his contemporary, Thomas Aquinas, and less intellectual, but more devotional. "His works," it is said, "surpass in usefulness all those of his age, in regard to the spirit of the love of God and Christian devotion which speaks in him; that he is profound without being prolix, subtle without being curious, eloquent without vanity, ardent without inflation; his devotion is instructive, and his doctrine inspires devotion." On being asked, when dying, from what books he had derived his learning, he

answered by pointing to the crucifix, and he was in the habit of referring to the Scriptures rather than to St. Francis, the founder of the order. But we must wait a little longer before we find the all-important doctrine of justification through simple faith in the Lord Jesus Christ taught by the learned. Bonaventura as a theologian represents the *mystics*. He might have been the author of the "Imitation of Christ," said to be written about this time by Thomas à Kempis. But never was book so misnamed. It begins with self, and ends with self. The internal emotions of the soul absorb the mystic. It is monastic Christianity. The love of Christ is purely unselfish. He laid down His life to save His enemies. "While we were yet sinners, Christ died for us." And faith can say, "He loved me, and gave Himself for me" (Rom. 5 ; Gal. 2).

Duns Scotus was a doctor of great celebrity ; but his birthplace and early life are enveloped in obscurity. Dean Waddington says, without question, "This doctor died in the year 1308. He was a native of Duns, in Scotland, and a Franciscan." He was a dialectician and styled the "subtle doctor." He boldly ventured to impugn some of the positions of the great St. Thomas, which gave rise to a controversy between the Dominicans and the Franciscans that lasted hundreds of years, engaged the attention of Popes and councils, as it even still divides the schools of the Latins. The principal points of theological difference between these great doctors were, "the nature of Divine co-operation, and the measure of Divine grace necessary to a man's salvation," with what is called the *immaculate conception* of the Virgin Mary. The Dominicans maintained that the holy virgin was not exempt from the taint of original sin ; the Franciscans supported the immaculate conception.*

William of Ockam, so called from his native place in the county of Surrey, had studied at Paris, under Duns Scotus, and became a famous doctor of the Franciscans. According to the custom of the schools, he was distinguished by high sounding titles, such as the "singular and invincible doctor." But he was more of a metaphysician than a theologian. He boldly attacked the Papal pretensions on many points, but especially as to temporal dominion and "the plenitude of power." He denied the infallibility of the Pope and the general councils ; and maintained that the Emperor was not dependent on the Pope, but that the Emperor has the right of choosing him. These antipapal opinions soon spread in all directions, and made their way to all classes through the agency of the mendicant friars. When threatened with the highest censures of the Church, he found a shelter at the court of St. Louis, who greatly favoured the Franciscans. "Defend me with your sword," said William

* Mosheim, cent. xiv., chapter iii.

to the king, "and I will defend you with the Word of God." He died under the sentence of excommunication at Munich, in 1347.*

REFLECTIONS ON THE SCHOOLMEN.

Enough, yes, we say enough, of the scholastic doctors and the philosophical divines for our present purpose. To wade through a number, and select a few as genuine specimens, is dry and wearisome work. But they form a certain link in the chain of events between the twelfth and sixteenth centuries which has its importance; and the reader will see what is meant by the general term of "the schoolmen" at that period of our history. One salutary lesson we may at least learn from the examples before us, and that is, the utter darkness and perplexity of the mind, however great the learning and study, when the Word of God, in its Divine simplicity, is not known and believed. One single text, "The just shall live by faith," when used of God in the hands of **Luther,** was sufficient to clear away the darkness of the middle ages, while the seventeen folio volumes of Thomas Aquinas, and all the other folios of all the great schoolmen, only deepened the gloom of ignorance and perplexity as to the knowledge of God and the way of salvation. The greatest development of the natural powers of the human mind leads no guilty sinner to the Cross of Christ—to the precious blood which alone cleanseth from all sin. The enemy of souls, taking advantage of the growing celebrity of the Aristotelian philosophy, seduced the best of the doctors to believe that the most important work they could be engaged in, was the reconciling of the teaching of Christ with the decrees of the Greek philosopher, lest the scholars should think more highly of the latter than the former. Such was the miserable work of the best of the schoolmen at that time, but no doubt many of simpler minds, who were not blinded by the subtleties of logic, found the way of truth and salvation amidst the darkness, though much perplexed and bewildered.

The Church of Christ was scarcely visible in Europe about this time, with the exception of the Churches of the valleys; there the true light continued to burn, and thousands found "the more excellent way," notwithstanding the union of the powers of earth, both secular and ecclesiastical, to extinguish it. But there was the true building of God, and the gates of Hell could never prevail against the works of His hands. We now turn to renew our acquaintance with the Waldenses and other Protestants of that time.

THE WALDENSES.

Our history naturally reverts to the fatal crusade against the Albigenses in the thirteenth century. That once beautiful

* J. C. Robertson, vol. iv., p. 77. For lengthy accounts of such men and their writings, see Knight's "Biographical Dictionary."

region, in some respects the richest and most civilised province in the spiritual empire of St. Peter, we have seen depopulated and desolated. The peaceful inhabitants had presumed to question the dogmas of the Vatican and the authority of the priesthood, which was sin unpardonable against the majesty of Rome. The edicts of Innocent, the sword of De Montfort, the fires of Arnold, the treachery of Fouquet, and the Inquisition of Dominic, did their terrible work. But the combined powers of Europe, with fire and sword and suffocating dungeons, failed to touch the root of that which Innocent called heresy. The Divine, vital principle of Christianity was far, far beyond his reach. The sword may hew down the branches, and the fire may consume them ; but the living root is in the truth and grace of God, which can never fail. The spirit of Christianity is stronger than the sword of the persecutor, and the arm on which faith leans is more powerful than the combined forces of earth and Hell. The weakness of the Papacy was manifested in its apparent triumphs in Languedoc. The heretics, as Jezebel thought, had been drowned in blood ; but a bleeding remnant was spared, in the good providence of our God, to bear testimony in every part of Europe to the injustice, the cruelties, and the spiritual despotism of Papal Rome.

The exiles from the south of France who had escaped the sword went forth to the utmost limits of Christendom preaching the doctrines of the Cross, and testifying with holy indignation against the falsehoods and corruptions of the dominant Church. In different parts of France, in Germany, Hungary, and the neighbouring regions, the sectaries appeared in great numbers. And the Popes found many of the kings little inclined to exert themselves for the suppression of the **Cathari,** as they were called, or the various religious sects. It is also more than probable that many of the persecuted about this time sought a place of rest in the quiet valleys of Piedmont. The more secluded of these regions appear to have been a secure asylum for the witnesses of God until the fourteenth century. Though known to Claudius, Bishop of Turin, in the ninth century, they seem to have escaped notoriety and conflict till about the thirteenth, if not later. But as the darkness of Popery thickens around them, the brightness of their example became more seen and felt. Calumnies were invented, and the godly Waldenses were singled out as reprobate schismatics. They were spread over the valleys on both sides of the Cottian Alps—Dauphiny on the French side, and Piedmont on the Italian side, of the mountains.

From time immemorial these **Alpine regions** had been inhabited by a race of Christians who continued the same from age to age ; who never acknowledged the jurisdiction of the Roman Pontiff, and who had been through all periods of ecclesiastical history,

a pure branch of the apostolic Church. But their peaceful retreats, their happy homes, their simple worship, and their industrial habits, were soon to be invaded and desolated by the Roman inquisitors. The tragedy begins. From the fifteenth to the present century, their history is a narrative of sanguinary struggles for existence, with few intervals of repose. They were often driven to desperation, yet the Church of the valleys lived through it all. Like the flaming bush, it has burned but has not been consumed. Its stronghold was not merely the Alpine mountains, but the truth of the living God.

WALDENSIAN PERSECUTIONS.

In the year 1380, a monk inquisitor, named Francis Borelli, was appointed by Clement VII to search out the heretics in the valleys of **Piedmont.** Armed with this Papal bull, the communes of Fraissinière and Argentière were ransacked for heretics. In the space of thirteen years, one hundred and fifty Waldenses were burned at Grenoble, and eighty around Fraissinière. There was now a double motive for persecution ; a law was made that half the goods of the condemned should go to the inquisitors' court and the other half to their temporal lords. Thus avarice, malice, and superstition were united against the unoffending peasants. But these burnings were too few and too far between to satisfy Rome's thirst for the blood of God's saints.

In the winter of 1400, the massacre extended from Dauphiny to the Italian valley of **Pragela.** The poor people, seeing their mountain caves possessed by their enemies, fled over the Alps. But the severity of the season and the coldness of the heights proved fatal to nearly all who had escaped from the hands of slaughter. Many of the mothers were carrying their infants and leading by the hand the little children who were able to walk. But cold and hunger speedily brought relief. One hundred and eighty babes are said to have died in the arms of their mothers, and were soon followed with other children, by their broken-hearted mothers. No estimate can be formed of the numbers that perished by the tyrannies and cruelties of Rome. But Heaven guesses not at their number, or even at their names. The martyred parents and the children have their record and reward eternal in the Heavens; while their persecutors have had time to gauge their guilt and feel their punishment these four hundred years in the place of hopeless woe. In allusion to such scenes, the noblest of our poets composed the following sonnet :

> " Avenge, O Lord, Thy slaughtered saints, whose bones
> Lie scattered on the Alpine mountains cold ;
> Even them who kept Thy truth so pure of old,
> When all our fathers worshipped stocks and stones,
> Forget not ; in Thy book record their groans,

Who were Thy sheep, and in their ancient fold,
Slain by the bloody Piedmontese, that rolled
Mother with infant down the rocks. Their moans
The vales redoubled to the hills, and they
To Heaven. Their martyred blood and ashes sow
O'er all the Italian fields, where still doth sway
The triple tyrant; that from these may grow
A hundredfold, who, having learned Thy way,
Early may flee the Babylonish woe."—MILTON.

The fires of persecution were again kindled in the valley of **Fraissiniere,** in the year 1460, by a monk of the order of Friars Minor, armed with the authority of the Archbishop of Embrun. Debarred from social intercourse, driven from their places of worship, beset with enemies, they had no resource, no refuge, but in a good conscience and the living God. The inquisitors did their cruel work.

In Piedmont, the Archbishop of Turin laboured much to promote the persecutions of the Waldenses. Their charge against them was that they made no offerings for the dead, valued not masses and absolutions, and took no care to redeem their relations from the pains of Purgatory. But the princes of Piedmont, who were the Dukes of Savoy, were unwilling to disturb their subjects, of whose loyalty, peaceableness, and industry, they had received such good accounts. Yet every method which fraud and calumny could invent was practised against them. The priests at length prevailed, and the civil power permitted the dragon host to indulge its thirst for blood.

About the year 1486 the memorable **Bull of Innocent VIII** gave unlimited power to Albert de Capitaneis, Archdeacon of Cremona, to carry confiscation and death into the infected valleys. An army of eighteen thousand was raised, and precipitated into the mountain retreats of the Waldenses. Driven to despair, and availing themselves of the natural advantages of their situation, they defended themselves with wooden clubs and crossbows—the women and children praying—and turned into confusion this great military force.

The **House of Savoy**—which was established in supreme authority in Piedmont about the middle of the thirteenth century—had acted in a mild and tolerant way towards the proscribed people; but, sad to say, the regent-mother, like Theodora and Irene, during the minority of her son is the first to sign a state-paper for their persecution. She called upon the authorities of Pignerol to assist the inquisitors to compel the heretics to return to the bosom of the Church—a worthy daughter of her mother Jezebel! But not a single one of the inhabitants could be forced to return to the arms of Rome. The sword was now let loose upon them; and soon were the streams of the valleys tinged with the blood of the saints. Subsequent edicts

of the sons were more tolerant. They began to speak of their Waldensian subjects, not under the obnoxious appellation of heretics, but as *religionists*, men of the valleys, and faithful vassals ; whom they recognised as privileged subjects because of ancient stipulations.

So far Rome had utterly failed to accomplish her cruel and fiend-like object. She had determined to exterminate these obstinate opponents of Popery, but faithful witnesses of the truth ; and to eradicate their very name from the valleys. But, wonderful to say, neither the individual executions nor the indiscriminate slaughters, the secret treachery nor the open violence, could prevail for their extinction. But Jezebel still plots ; and the tiara and the mitre generally proves too strong for the crown.

WALDENSIAN MISSIONARIES.

With the twofold object of spreading the pure truth of the Gospel, and of finding new and more peaceful settlements, many of them about the close of the fourteenth century left their native valleys and settled in Switzerland, Moravia, Bohemia, various parts of Germany, and probably in England. But the most extensive of these colonies was formed in **Calabria,** in the year 1370. Being peaceable in their manners, industrious in their habits, and strictly moral in all their ways, they soon gained the confidence of their landlords, and the affections of their neighbours. The lords of the country saw their lands enriched and fertilised by the superior husbandry of the new colonists, and granted them many privileges.

They were allowed to invite pastors from the parent Church in the Alps, and to introduce schoolmasters for their children. But such temporal and spiritual prosperity, with so much social comfort, was an intolerable grievance to the evil eye of Popery. The priests growled and murmured exceedingly. They complained to the landlords that the strangers did not conform to the rites of the Romish Church ; that they had no masses said for the repose of their dead ; that they were heretics. The lords, however, were not disposed to listen to the priests. "They are a very just and honest people," said they, "all know them to be temperate, industrious, and in their words peculiarly decent. Who has ever heard them utter a blasphemous expression ? And as they enrich our lands and pay their rents punctually, we see no reason to condemn them."

In every country and in every age the priests of Rome have been the greatest enemies to the pure, simple, religion of the Bible ; to education, toleration, light, liberty, and every social improvement. Their power, their interests, their sensuality, and every evil passion, are necessarily exposed and undermined by the introduction of light or the toleration of liberty. But the

temporal interests of the lords led them to protect their tenants, and maintain them in their privileges. We have here one of the mysterious passages in Divine providence, over which the mind loves to dwell a little. For nearly two hundred years these Nonconformists were allowed to remain and multiply in the districts of Calabria, in the very neighbourhood of Rome itself. But at length the Pope listened to the complaints of the priests, and the dark cloud, which had long been gathering over the peaceful plains of Calabria and Apulia, burst upon them with all its fury.

THE DARK YEAR OF 1560.

About the year 1560, Pope Pius IV was seized with a fit of great zeal against the spread of heresy. It was reported to have taken deep root in several parts of Italy, besides the valleys of Piedmont. The subalpine communities and all infected districts were placed under Papal interdicts. Another crusade was preached, and great preparations made for the complete **extermination of the heretics.** The Spanish Viceroy of Naples, commanding the troops in person, and assisted by an inquisitor and a number of monks, entered the Waldensian settlements in Calabria. Emmanuel Philibert, Duke of Savoy, marched with an armed force on Piedmont; and the French King on Dauphiny. "The poor men of the valleys," with their wives and children, now saw themselves exposed to the hostile power of the French King on the one side of the Alps, and to that of the Duke of Savoy on the other. The industrious tillers of the ground in Calabria, with their ministers, schoolmasters, and families, were surrounded by the troops of the Spanish Viceroy.

Thus prepared for the slaughter of the saints, the Waldenses were commanded to banish their ministers and schoolmasters, to abstain from the exercises of their own forms of worship, and to attend the services of the Romish Church. They nobly refused. Orders were now given for confiscation, imprisonment, and death. The merciless sword of persecution was openly unsheathed, and did not return to its scabbard for more than a hundred years. The awful work of blood and carnage began. Two companies of soldiers, headed by the Pope's agents, went on slaying, burning, ravaging the defenceless peasantry in Calabria, until the work of extermination was nearly completed. A remnant cried for mercy, for their wives and children, promising to leave the country and never to return; but the inquisitors and monks knew not how to show mercy. The most barbarous cruelties were inflicted on many, the whole apparatus of pagan persecutions was revived, until the Protestants were exterminated in the south of Italy. One of their chief ministers, **Lewis Paschal,** who affirmed that the Pope was Antichrist, was conveyed to Rome, where he was burned alive, in the presence of Pius IV,

that he might feast his eyes with the sight of a heretic in the flames. But the piety and the sufferings of Paschal excited the pity and the admiration of the spectators.

Hundreds of Waldenses in the valleys perished on the scaffold or at the stake; the villages swarmed with ruffians, who, in the name of officers of justice, plundered the helpless inhabitants, and haled them to prison, until the dungeons were choked with victims. The plains were deserted; the women, children, feeble, and aged, were sent for refuge to the heights of the mountains, to the rocks and the forests. The men, taking advantage of the nature of the country, determined on resistance. Every man and boy that could handle a weapon were formed into small brigades, and so planted as to defend themselves against the troops. The duke was not much inclined to carry on such a guerilla warfare, and shortly withdrew his soldiers; but only for a little while. According to ancient treaties, the men of the valleys had certain rights and privileges, which their sovereigns were reluctant to violate, but too often yielded to the importunity and the misrepresentations of the Romish hierarchy. From the following dates the reader will see how brief were their periods of rest: "The years 1565, 1573, 1581, 1583, and the period between 1591 and 1594, are memorable as dates of religious and civil conflict. But never did the majesty of truth and innocence stand out more brightly to view than during the tempests of persecution which raged at intervals for the next hundred years and more." *

The testimony of Dr. Beattie, who visited the Protestant valleys of Piedmont, Dauphiny, and the Ban de la Roche, about forty years ago, is to the same effect. "But the fierceness of the persecution seemed only to increase the measure of their fortitude....Although marked as the victims of indiscriminate massacre, of lawless plunder, of torture, extortion, and famine; their resolution to persevere in the truth remained unshaken. Every punishment that cruelty could invent, or the sword inflict, had expended its fury in vain; nothing could subvert their faith or subdue their courage. In defence of their natural rights as men—in support of their insulted creed as members of the primitive Church—in resistance of those exterminating edicts which made their homes desolate, and deluged their altars with blood—the Waldenses exhibited a spectacle of fortitude and endurance that has no parallel in history."†

Having brought down the history of the witnesses to the sixteenth century, we will now leave them, in the hope of meeting them again, when we reach that period in our general history.

* "Encyclopaedia Britannica," vol. xxi., p. 543.
† "Scenery of the Waldenses," William Beattie, M'D. See also a lengthy account of the Waldenses in Milner's "Church History," vol. iii.

Chapter XXX

John Wycliffe

Every attentive reader of history must be frequently reminded of that weighty word of warning, given by the apostle : " Be not deceived ; God is not mocked ; for whatsoever a man soweth, that shall he also reap." The most solemn and practical illustrations of this Divine law in the affairs of men may be seen on every page of history. He who sows tares in spring cannot expect to reap wheat in autumn ; and he who sows wheat in spring shall not be required to reap tares in autumn. We may see the truth of this principle of the Divine government around us daily. How often the habits of youth determine the condition of old age ! Even the riches of Divine grace arrests not the course of this law. The King of Israel had to hear from the mouth of the prophet the solemn sentence : " The sword shall never depart from thine house ; " but this did not hinder the flow of God's tender mercy to the royal penitent : " And Nathan said unto David, The Lord also hath put away thy sin ; thou shalt not die " (2 Sam. 12). Such is the boundless, measureless grace of God to the truly penitent ; but such, too, the immutable law of His government.

Although we cannot speak with the same confidence as to the general system of human society, yet we may reverently trace the hand of the Lord in the wisdom of His ways and in the accomplishment of His purposes. For example—

The sanguinary triumphs of the Papacy in **Languedoc** proved to be the means of its rapid decline and fall. In crushing the Count of Toulouse and the other great feudatory lords in the south of France, the dominions of the French Crown were greatly enlarged, and the kings of France from that moment became the irresistible adversaries of the Pope. Louis IX immediately published the Pragmatic Sanctions, which established the liberties of the Gallican Church ; and Philip the Fair compelled the haughty Boniface to drink the cup of humiliation which the Popes had often mixed for the secular powers of Europe. From 1305 to 1377, the Popes at Avignon were little better than the vassals of Philip and his successors. And from 1377 to 1417, the Papacy itself was rent asunder by the great schism. Thus by an equitable retribution in the providence of God, they who sought the destruction of others were their own destroyers.* We see the same thing in England.

* Sir James Stephen's " History of France," vol. i., p. 240.

ENGLAND AND THE PAPACY.

The submission of **John** to Innocent III was the turning-point in the history of the Papacy in this country. In the humiliation of the sovereign the whole nation felt itself to be degraded. Innocent went too far ; it was an abuse of assumed power, but it recoiled upon himself in due time. England never could forget such abject prostration on the part of its king at the feet of a foreign priest. From that hour a spirit of disaffection towards Rome grew up in the minds of the English people. The usurpations, the exorbitant claims, of the Papacy, their interference with the disposal of English bishoprics, frequently brought the government and the Church into collision and widened the breach. But just when men's patience was almost exhausted by the many practical grievances of Popery, it pleased God to raise up a powerful adversary to the whole hierarchical system—the first man who shook the Papal dominion in England to its foundation, and withal a man who sincerely loved the truth, and preached it both to the learned and to the lower classes. This man was

John Wycliffe, justly styled the harbinger, or Morning Star of the Reformation. The early part of Wycliffe's life is involved in much obscurity ; but the general opinion is, that he was born of humble parentage in the neighbourhood of Richmond, in Yorkshire, about the year 1324. His destination was that of a scholar, to which, we are informed, the humblest in those days could aspire. England was almost a land of schools, every cathedral, almost every monastery, having its own ; but youths of more ambition, self-confidence, supposed capacity, and of better opportunities, thronged to Oxford and Cambridge. In England, as throughout Christendom, that wonderful rush of a vast part of the population towards knowledge, thronged the universities with thousands of students, instead of the few hundreds who have now the privilege of entering those seats of learning.*

John Wycliffe found his way to Oxford. He was admitted a student of Queen's College, but soon removed to Merton College, the oldest, the wealthiest, and most famous of the Oxford foundations. It is supposed that he was privileged to attend the lectures of the very pious and profound Thomas Bradwardine, and that from his works he derived his first views of the freeness of grace, and the utter worthlessness of all human merit in the matter of salvation. From Grostête's writings he first caught the idea of the Pope being Antichrist.

Wycliffe, according to his biographers, soon became master of the civil, the canon, and the municipal law ; but his greatest efforts were diverted to the study of theology, not merely that

* Milman, vol. vi., p. 100.

barren art which was taught in the schools, but that Divine science which is derived from the spirit as well as from the letter of Scripture. In the prosecution of such inquiries he had numerous and formidable difficulties to contend against. It was a study which the Church had not sanctioned, and had not provided for. The sacred text was neglected, scholastic divinity had taken the place of the authority of Scripture; the original language of the New, as well as of the Old Testament, was almost unknown in the kingdom. But, in spite of all these disadvantages and discouragements, Wycliffe pursued his way with great perseverance. "His logic," says one, "his scholastic subtlety, his rhetorical art, his power of reading the Latin Scriptures, his varied erudition, may be due to Oxford; but the vigour and energy of his genius, the force of his language, his mastery over the vernacular English, the high supremacy which he vindicated for the Scriptures, which by immense toil he promulgated in the vulgar tongue—*these were his own*—to be learned in no school, to be attained by none of the ordinary courses of study." *

WYCLIFFE AND THE FRIARS.

About the year 1349, when Wycliffe had reached his twenty-fourth year, and was rising to some renown in the college, this country was visited by a terrible pestilence, called the "**black plague.**" It is supposed to have made its appearance first in Tartary, and after ravaging various countries in Asia, proceeded by the shores of the Nile to the islands of Greece, carrying devastation to almost every nation of Europe. So prodigious was the waste of human life that some say a fourth part of the inhabitants were cut off; others, that the half of the human race, besides cattle, were carried off in certain parts. This alarming visitation filled the pious mind of Wycliffe with the most gloomy apprehensions, and fearful forebodings as to the future. It was like the sound of the last trumpet in his heart. He concluded that the day of judgment was at hand. Solemnised with the thoughts of eternity, he spent days and nights in his cell, and no doubt in earnest prayer for Divine guidance. He came forth a champion for the truth; he found his armour in the Word of God.

By his zeal and faithfulness in preaching the Gospel, especially to the common people on Sundays, he acquired and deserved the title of the "**evangelical doctor.**" But that which brought him such fame and popularity at Oxford was his defence of the university against the encroachments of the mendicant friars. He fearlessly and unsparingly attacked these orders, which he declared to be the great evil of Christendom. They were now

* "Latin Christianity," vol. vi., p. 103.

four in number—Dominicans, Minorites or Franciscans, Augustinians, Carmelites—and swarmed in all the best parts of Europe. They strove hard in Oxford, as heretofore in Paris, to obtain the ascendancy. They took every opportunity of enticing the students into their convents, who, without the consent of their parents, were enlisted into the mendicant orders. To such an extent was this system of trepanning carried on, that parents ceased to send their children to the universities. Thirty thousand youths had at one time studied at Oxford, but from this cause the number was reduced to six thousand. Bishops, priests, and theologians, in almost every country and university in Europe were contending against those arch-deceivers, but it was all to little effect, for the Pontiffs vigorously defended them as their best friends, and conferred on them great privileges.

Wycliffe struck boldly, and we believe fatally, at the root of this great and universal evil. Next to the decline of the Papal power, which we have already noticed, we may begin to mark that of the mendicant orders. He published some spiritual papers entitled, "Against Able Beggary," "Against Idle Beggary," and on "The Poverty of Christ." "He denounced mendicancy in itself, and all the orders as able-bodied beggars, who ought not to be permitted to infest the land. He charged them with fifty errors of doctrine and practice. He denounced them for intercepting the alms which ought to belong to the poor; for their unscrupulous system of proselytising; for their invasion of parochial rights; their habits of deluding the common people by fables and legends; their hypocritical pretensions to sanctity; their flattery of the great and wealthy, whom it would rather have been their duty to reprove for their sins; their grasping at money by all sorts of means; the needless splendour of their buildings, whereas parish Churches were left to decay." *

Wycliffe was now the acknowledged champion of a great party in the university and in the Church; and dignities and honours were conferred upon him. But if he had gained many friends, he had many enemies whose wrath it was dangerous to provoke. His troubles and changes now began. The friars supplied the Pope with information as to all that was going on. In 1361 he was advanced to the mastership of **Balliol College** and Rectory of Fillingham. Four years after he was chosen Warder of Canterbury Hall. His knowledge of Scripture, the purity of his life, his unbending courage, his eloquence as a preacher, his mastery of the language of the common people, rendered him the object of general admiration. He maintained that salvation was by faith, through grace, without human merit in any way. This was striking, not at the outward evils merely, but at the very foundations of the whole system of

* J. C. Robertson, vol. iv., p. 201.

Popery. Led by Divine wisdom, he commenced his great work at the right place and in the right way. He preached the Gospel and explained the Word of God to the people in vernacular English. In this way he planted deep in the popular mind those great truths and principles which eventually led to the emancipation of England from the yoke and tyranny of Rome.

WYCLIFFE AND THE GOVERNMENT.

The fame of Wycliffe, as a defender of truth and liberty, was no longer confined to the University of Oxford. The Pope and the cardinals feared him, and minutely watched his proceedings. But on the other hand, the King and the Parliament entertained so high an opinion of his integrity and judgment as to consult him on a matter of grave importance to both Church and State.

About the year 1366 a controversy had arisen between **Urban V and Edward III** in consequence of the renewed demand of an annual tribute of one thousand marks, which King John had bound himself to pay to the Roman See, as an acknowledgment of the feudal superiority of the Roman Pontiff over the kingdoms of England and Ireland. The payment of this ignominious tribute had never been regular, but it had been entirely discontinued for thirty-three years. Urban demanded payment in full of the arrears. Edward refused, declaring himself resolved to hold his kingdom in freedom and independence. The Parliament and the people sympathised with the king. The arrogance of the Pope had created great excitement in England; both Houses of Parliament were consulted; the settlement of the question interested all classes, even all Christendom. Wycliffe, who was already one of the King's chaplains, was appointed to answer the Papal arguments; and so effectually did he prove that canon, or Papal law, has no force when it is opposed to the Word of God, that the Papacy from that day to this *ceased to lay claim to the sovereignty of England.* The arguments of Wycliffe were used by the lords in Parliament, who unanimously resolved to maintain the independence of the crown against the pretensions of Rome. The short, pithy, plain speeches of the barons on this occasion are curious and characteristic of the times.

In the year 1372 Wycliffe was raised to the theological chair. This was an important step in the cause of truth, and used by the Lord. Being a Doctor of Divinity, he had the right of delivering lectures on theology. He spoke as a master to the young theologians at Oxford; and having such authority in the schools, whatever he said was received as an oracle. It would be impossible to estimate the wholesome influence which he exercised over the minds of the students, who attended in great numbers at that time. The invention of printing had not yet

supplied the student with books, so that the voice, the living energy of the public teacher was nearly all he had to depend upon. Hundreds who listened to him were in their turn to go forth as public teachers bearing the same precious seed.

WYCLIFFE AT AVIGNON.

Although it was now well known that Wycliffe held many antipapal opinions, he was not yet committed to direct opposition to Rome. But in the year 1374 he was employed in an embassy to the Pope, Gregory XI, whose residence was at Avignon. The object of this mission was to represent and have removed the flagrant abuses of the Papal reservation of benefices in the English Church. But we doubt not the Lord allowed this, that Wycliffe might see, what strangers were slow to believe, namely, that the Papal Court was the fountain-head of all iniquity. On his return from that mission he became the open, direct, and dreaded antagonist of Rome. The experience of Avignon and Bruges added to the results of his previous thought and inquiry, and satisfied his mind that the pretensions of the Papacy were without foundation in truth. He published indefatigably the deep convictions of his soul, in learned lectures and disputations at Oxford, in pastoral addresses in his parish, and in spiritual tracts written in clear English prose, which reached the humbler and less educated classes. He denounced with a burning and long-treasured indignation the whole Papal system. "The Gospel of Jesus Christ," he said, "is the only source of true religion. The Pope is Antichrist, the proud worldly priest of Rome, and the most cursed of clippers and purse-carvers." The pride, the pomp, the luxury, the loose morals of the prelates, fell under his withering rebuke. And being a man of unimpeachable morals himself, of profound devotion, undoubted sincerity, and original eloquence, numbers gathered around the dauntless professor.*

WYCLIFFE A HERESIARCH.

Wycliffe had now risen to high distinction, and had received many marks of the royal favour. In the end of the year 1375, he was presented by the crown to the Rectory of **Lutterworth,** in Leicestershire, which was his home throughout the remainder of his life, although he frequently visited Oxford. But dangers were gathering around him from other quarters. He had incurred the displeasure of the Pope and the prelates. At Lutterworth and in the villages around, he was the plain, bold, vernacular preacher; at Oxford, he was the great master. But whether in town or country, he raised his voice against the

* J. C. Robertson, vol. iv., p. 203; "Latin Christianity," vol. iv., p. 94; "Encyclopaedia Britannica," article, WYCLIFFE.

discipline of the Church, the scandalous lives of churchmen, their ignorance, their neglect of preaching and the abuse of their privileges as ecclesiastics to shelter notorious criminals. It was only natural that such plain speaking should give offence. The professor was accused of heresy, and summoned to appear before the convocation which commenced its sittings in February, 1377.

Wycliffe answered to the citation and proceeded to **St. Paul's Cathedral,** but not alone. He was accompanied by John of Gaunt, Duke of Lancaster, and Lord Percy, marshal of England. The motives of these great personages were no doubt political, and added no real honour to the name or to the cause of Wycliffe. But we find a strange collision and confusion of religion and politics in the history of all the reformers. William Courtenay, son of the Earl of Devon, was then Bishop of London, and appointed president of the assembly by Archbishop Sudbury. The proud and haughty bishop was moved to great displeasure when he beheld the heretic supported by the two most powerful nobles in England. So great was the concourse of people to witness this exciting trial, that the Earl-marshal assumed the authority of his office to make a way to the presence of the judges. The indignant bishop resented this exercise of the marshal's power inside the cathedral.

"If I had known, my lord," said Courtenay to Percy, sharply, "that you claimed to be master in this Church, I would have taken measures to prevent your entrance." Lancaster, who at that time administered the kingdom, coldly replied, "that the marshal would use the authority necessary to maintain order in spite of the bishops." When they reached the court in the Lady Chapel, Percy demanded a seat for Wycliffe. Courtenay now gave way to his anger, and exclaimed in a loud voice, "He must not sit down, criminals stand before their judges." Fierce words followed on both sides. The duke threatened to humble the pride, not only of Courtenay, but of all the prelacy of England. The bishop replied with a provoking, specious humility, that his trust was in God alone. A scene of great violence followed ; and, instead of the proposed inquiry, the assembly broke up in confusion. The partisans of the bishop would have fallen upon the duke and the marshal, but they had force enough for their protection. Wycliffe, who had remained silent, escaped under their shelter.

Although the people were then all Roman Catholics, there were many who favoured reform. These were called **Wycliffites,** and they prudently remained in their own houses during this excitement. The clerical party that had thronged St. Paul's filled the streets with their clamour. The populace arose—a wild tumult began. The rioters first attacked the house of

Percy ; but after bursting open every door, and searching every chamber, without finding him, they imagined that he must be concealed in Lancaster's palace. They rushed to the Savoy, at that time the most magnificent building in the kingdom. A clergyman who had the misfortune of being taken for Lord Percy was put to death. The ducal arms were reversed like those of a traitor ; the palace was plundered, and further outrages might have been committed but for the interposition of the bishop, who had cause to fear the consequences of such lawless proceedings.

WYCLIFFE AND THE PAPAL BULLS.

Wycliffe was again at liberty. The severities which his persecutors had intended for him were not inflicted, and he continued to preach and instruct the people with unabated zeal and courage. Just about this time there were **two Popes,** or anti-popes ; one in Rome, and one in Avignon. This fact is spoken of in history as " *The schism,*" and caricatured by some writers as the *cloven,* or *two-headed* Antichrist. Through which head apostolic succession flows, the reader must judge for himself. Wycliffe denounced both Popes alike as Antichrist and found strong sympathy in the hearts and minds of the people. The most disgraceful scenes followed. The Pontiff of Rome proclaims war against the Pontiff of Avignon. A crusade is preached in favour of the former. The same indulgences are granted as to the crusaders of old who went to the Holy Land. Public prayers are offered up, by order of the primate, in every Church of the realm, for the success of the Pontiff of Rome against the Pontiff of Avignon. The bishops and clergy are called on to enforce upon their flocks the duty of contributing to this sacred purpose. Under the mitred captain, Spencer, the young and martial Bishop of Norwich, the crusaders moved forward. They took Gravelines and Dunkirk, in France ; but, alas, this army of the Pope, headed by an English bishop, surpassed the ordinary inhumanity of the times. Men, women, and children, were hewn to pieces in one vast massacre. The bishop carried a huge two-handed sword, with which he seems to have hewn down with hearty goodwill the unoffending flock of the rival Pope at Avignon.

Such an expedition could only end in shame and disaster. It shook the Papacy to its foundation, and greatly strengthened the cause of the reformer. From 1305 to 1377, the Popes were little more than the vassals of the French monarchs at Avignon ; and from that till 1417, the Papacy itself was rent asunder by the great schism. But the myrmidons of the Pope continued eager and constant in their pursuit after the heresiarch. Nineteen articles of accusation against him were submitted to Gregory

XI. In answer to these accusations, five bulls were despatched to England, three to the archbishop, one to the king, and one to Oxford; commanding inquiry into the erroneous doctrines of Wycliffe. The opinions charged against him were not against the creed of the Church, but against the power of the clergy. He was charged with reviving the errors of Marselius of Padua, and John Gaudun, the defenders of the temporal monarch against the Pope.

Wycliffe was cited a second time to appear before the same Papal delegates, but on this occasion it was not at St. Paul's, but at Lambeth. He had no longer the Duke of Lancaster and the Earl-marshal at his side. He trusted in the living God. "The people thought he would be devoured, being brought into the lion's den;" and many of the citizens of London forced themselves into the chapel. The prelates seeing their menacing looks and gestures, became alarmed. But scarcely had the proceedings been opened, when a message was received from the young King's mother—the widow of the Black Prince—prohibiting them from proceeding to any definite sentence respecting the doctrine or conduct of Wycliffe. "The bishops," says Walsingham the Papal advocate, "who had professed themselves determined to do their duty in spite of threats or promises, and even at the hazard of their lives, were as reeds shaken by the wind, and became so intimidated during the examination of the apostate, that their speeches were as soft as oil, to the public loss of their dignity, and the damage of the whole Church. And when Clifford pompously delivered his message, they were so overcome with fear, that you would have thought them to be as a man that heareth not, and in whose mouth are no reproofs. Thus this false teacher, this complete hypocrite, evaded the hand of justice; and could no more be called before the same prelates, because their commission expired by the death of the Pope Gregory XI." *

The **death of Gregory** and the great schism in the Papacy combined, in the good providence of God, to deliver Wycliffe from the cruel hand of persecution, which no doubt had marked him as its victim. He therefore returned to his former occupations, and by his pulpit discourses, his academical lectures, and his various writings, laboured to promote the cause of truth and liberty. He also organised about this time an itinerant band of preachers, who were to travel through the land, preaching the Gospel of Jesus Christ, accepting hospitality by the way, and trusting in the Lord to meet all their need. They were called "*poor priests*," and not unfrequently met with persecution from the clergy; but the simplicity and earnestness of these missionaries drew crowds of the common people around them.

*Milner, vol. iii., p. 251.

WYCLIFFE AND THE BIBLE.

Without following more minutely the general labours of Wycliffe, or the plottings of his enemies to interrupt him, we will now notice that which was the great work of his useful life—the complete **English Version** of the Holy Scriptures. We have seen him boldly and fearlessly assailing and exposing the countless abuses of Popery, unfolding the truth to the students, and zealously preaching the Gospel to the poor; but he is now engaged in a work which will a thousand times more enrich his own soul. He is yet more exclusively engaged with the Sacred Writings. It was not until he became more fully acquainted with the Bible that he rejected the false doctrines of the Church of Rome. It is one thing to see the outward abuses of the hierarchy, it is quite another to see the mind of God in the doctrines of His Word.

As soon as the translation of a portion was finished, the labour of the copyists began, and the Bible was ere long widely circulated either wholly or in parts. The effect of thus bringing home the Word of God to the unlearned—to citizens, soldiers, and the lower classes—is beyond human power to estimate. Minds were enlightened, souls were saved, and God was glorified. "Wycliffe," said one of his adversaries, "has made the Gospel common, and more open to laymen and to women who can read than it is wont to be to clerks well learned and of good understanding; so that the pearl of the Gospel is scattered and is trodden under foot of swine." In the year 1380 the English Bible was complete. In 1390 the bishops attempted to get the version condemned by Parliament, lest it should become an occasion of heresies; but John of Gaunt declared that the English would not submit to the degradation of being denied a vernacular Bible. "The Word of God is the faith of His people," it was said, "and though the Pope and all his clerks should disappear from the face of the earth, our faith would not fail, for it is founded on Jesus alone, our Master and our God." The attempt at prohibition having failed, the English Bible spread far and wide, being diffused chiefly through the exertions of the "poor priests," like "the poor men of Lyons" at an earlier period.

The Christian reader will not fail to trace the hand of the Lord in this great work. The grand, the Divine, instrument was now ready and in the hands of the people, by means of which the Reformation in the sixteenth century was to be accomplished. The Word of God which liveth and abideth for ever is rescued from the dark mysteries of scholasticism, from the dust-covered shelves of the cloister, from the obscurity of ages, and given to the English people in their own mother-tongue. Who can estimate the blessing? Let the ten thousand times ten thousand

tongues which shall praise the Lord for ever give the answer. But, oh! the wickedness—the soul-murdering wickedness—of the Romish priesthood in keeping the Word of Life from the laity! Is the glorious truth of God's love to the world in the gift of His Son—of the efficacy of the blood of Christ to cleanse from all sin—to be concealed from the perishing multitude, and seen only by a privileged few? There is no refinement in cruelty on the face of the whole earth to compare with this. It is the ruin of both soul and body in Hell for ever.

PARTIAL TRANSLATIONS.

The first attempt at anything like a vernacular translation of a portion of the Holy Scriptures appears to have been in the seventh century. Down to this period they were only in the Latin tongue in this country, and being chiefly in the hands of the clergy, the people in general received what they knew of the revelation of God from their instructions. But, as most of the priests knew nothing more than what they were obliged to repeat in the Church service, the people were left in gross darkness.

The **Venerable Bede** mentions a poem in the Anglo-Saxon tongue, bearing the name of Caedmon, which gives with tolerable fidelity some of the historical parts of the Bible, but owing to its epic character, it has not been ranked with the versions of the sacred writings. Still it was a commencement in this blessed work, for which we can be truly thankful. It may have given the idea to others more competent, and been the precursor of real translations.

In the eighth century Bede translated the Apostles' Creed and the Lord's Prayer into Anglo-Saxon, which he frequently presented to illiterate priests; and one of his last efforts was a translation of the Gospel of St. John, which is supposed to be the first portion of the New Testament which was translated into the vernacular language of the country. He died in 735.

King Alfred, in his zeal for the improvement of his realm, did not overlook the importance of vernacular Scripture. With the assistance of the learned men in his court he had the four Gospels translated. And Elfric, towards the close of the tenth century, had translated some books of the Old Testament. About the beginning of the reign of Edward III, William of Shoreham rendered the Psalter into Anglo-Norman; and he was soon after followed by Richard Rolle, chantry priest at Hampole. He not only translated the text of the Psalms, but added an English commentary. He died in 1347. The Psalter appears to be the only book of Scripture which had been entirely rendered into our language before the time of Wycliffe. But the moment was come in the providence of God for the publication of the whole Bible, and for its circulation among the people. Every

circumstance, in spite of the enemy, was overruled of God to favour the noble design of His servant.

Having received many warnings, many threatenings, and experienced some narrow escapes from the loathsome dungeon and the burning pile, Wycliffe was allowed to close his days in peace, in the midst of his flock and his pastoral labours at Lutterworth. After a forty-eight hours' illness from a stroke of paralysis, he died on the last day of the year 1384.*

REFLECTIONS ON THE LIFE OF WYCLIFFE.

The humble Christian, the bold witness, the faithful preacher, the able professor, and the great reformer has passed off the scene. He has gone to his rest and his reward is on high. But the doctrines which he propagated with so much zeal can never die. His name in his followers continued formidable to the false priests of Rome. "Every second man you meet in the way," said a bitter adversary, "is a Wycliffite." He was used of God to give an impulse to Christian inquiry which was felt in the most distant corners of Europe, and which rolled on through future ages. No person has expressed a juster sense of the influence of Wycliffe's Biblical labours than Dr. Lingard, the Roman Catholic historian. Thus he writes: "He made a new translation, multiplied copies with the aid of transcribers, and by his *poor priests* recommended it to the perusal of his hearers. In their hands it became an engine of wonderful power. Men were flattered with the appeal to their private judgment; the new doctrines insensibly acquired partizans and protectors in the higher classes, who alone were acquainted with the use of letters; a spirit of inquiry was generated, and the seeds were sown of that religious revolution, which, in little more than a century, astonished and convulsed the nations of Europe." Many of Wycliffe's doctrines were far in advance of the age in which he lived. He anticipated the principles of a more enlightened generation. "The Scripture alone is truth," he said; and his doctrine was formed on that foundation alone. But it was the translation and circulation of the Bible that gave lasting efficacy to the holy truths which he taught, and was the imperishable crown of all his other labours—the treasure which he bequeathed to future and to better ages.†

So long as Wycliffe confined his vehement denunciations to the antichristian spirit of the court of Rome, the wealth of the clergy, and the peculiar tenets of the Papacy, so long he could count on many powerful protectors. He might sweep away one

* For full details of the earliest English translations, see preface to Wycliffe's Bible, edited by the Rev. Josiah Forshall and Sir Frederick Madden, both of the British Museum. It is a noble book, four volumes folio, printed at the University Press, Oxford, and a noble monument of Christian zeal and devotedness, under the sheltering hand of God. See also preface to Bagster's "English Hexapla."

† Waddington, vol. iii., p. 175.

by one the many abuses of the system, but no sooner did he rise into the higher region of the positive truth and free grace of God, than the number and enthusiasm of his followers rapidly declined. His doctrinal controversy secured his banishment from Oxford about two years before his death. But this, in the providence of God, was overruled to give him a period of repose at the end of a laborious and stormy life. For many years he had preached the most distinguishing doctrines of the reformers of the sixteenth century, especially those held by Calvin. But his opposition to the Romish doctrine of salvation by works would naturally lead him to speak strongly. "To believe in the power of man in the work of regeneration," he would say, "is the great heresy of Rome, and from that error has come the ruin of the Church. Conversion proceeds from the grace of God alone, and the system which ascribes it partly to man and partly to God is worse than Pelagianism. Christ is everything in Christianity; whosoever abandons that fountain which is ever ready to impart life, and turns to muddy and stagnant waters, is a madman. Faith is a gift of God; it puts aside all human merit, and should banish all fear from the mind. Let Christians submit not to the word of a priest, but to the Word of God. In the primitive Church there were but two orders, bishops and deacons; the presbyter and the bishop, or overseer, were one. The sublimest calling which man can attain on the earth is that of preaching the Word of God. The true Church is the assembly of the righteous for whom Christ shed His blood."

Such were the essential points of Wycliffe's preaching and pamphlets for nearly forty years, proclaimed with great fervour and ability in the midst of Papal darkness, superstition, and the worst forms of worldliness. To write the words which hand down to posterity so great, so glorious a work of God's Spirit in our land, causes the heart to expand and arise to the throne of grace in praise and thanksgiving unfeigned, unmingled, unending. The Popes, cardinals, archbishops, bishops, abbots, and doctors who thirsted for his blood, have either perished from the page of history, or they are associated in our minds with the demon of persecution, while the name and the memory of John Wycliffe continue to be held with unimpaired and increasing veneration.*

THE LOLLARDS.

Wycliffe had organised no sect during his life, but the power of his teaching was manifested in the number and zeal of his disciples after his death. From the hut of the peasant to the palace of royalty, they were to be found everywhere under the vague name of "**Lollards.**" Crowds gathered round their preachers. They denied the authority of Rome, and maintained

* See "Encyclopædia Britannica," vol. xxi., p. 949; D'Aubigné, vol. v., p. 137.

the absolute supremacy of the Word of God alone. They maintained that the ministers of Christ should be poor, simple, and lead a spiritual life ; and they publicly preached against the vices of the clergy. For a time they met with so much sympathy and success that they no doubt thought the Reformation was about to triumph in England.

In the year 1395 the followers of Wycliffe boldly petitioned Parliament to "abolish celibacy, transubstantiation, prayers for the dead, offerings to images, auricular confession," and many other Popish abuses, and then nailed their petition to the gates of St. Paul's and Westminster Abbey. But these murmurs of a burdened and oppressed people were lost sight of for the moment in the dethronement and death of King Richard II, son of the favourite Black Prince, and the accession of **Henry IV**, the first of the Lancastrian dynasty.

When Henry, son of the famous Duke of Lancaster, the friend and patron of Wycliffe, ascended the throne, the Lollards naturally expected a warm supporter of their principles in the new king. But in this they were bitterly disappointed. Archbishop Arundel, the implacable enemy of the Lollards, had great influence with Henry. He had contributed more than all other adherents to the overthrow of Richard and to the usurpation of Henry. Arundel had great influence, was high-born, haughty, unscrupulous as a partisan, skilful as a politician, and withal, practised in the cunning and cruelty peculiar to the priesthood. He had made up his mind, through the influence of the king, to sacrifice the Lollards. Almost the first act of Henry IV was to declare himself the champion of the clergy, the monks, and the friars, against their dangerous enemies.

THE STATUTE FOR THE BURNING OF HERETICS.

Down to the beginning of the fifteenth century there had been no statute law in England for the burning of heretics. In all other parts of Christendom the magistrate, as under the old Roman imperial law, had obeyed the mandate of the bishops. England stood alone. Without a legal warrant no officer would have executed the ecclesiastical criminal. "In all other countries," says Milman, "the secular arm received the delinquent against the law of the Church. The judgment was passed in the ecclesiastical court or that of the Inquisition ; but the Church, with a kind of evasion which it is difficult to clear from hypocrisy, would not be stained with blood. The clergy commanded, and that under the most awful threats, the fire to be lighted and the victim tied to the stake by others, and acquitted themselves of the cruelty of burning their fellow-creatures." But the end of this honourable distinction for England was come. The obsequious Henry, to gratify the archbishop, issued a royal

edict, ordering every incorrigible heretic to be burnt alive. The lying tongues of the priests and friars had so industriously circulated reports of the wild and revolutionary purposes of the Lollards, that Parliament became alarmed and sanctioned the king's decree.

In the year 1400 "**the burning of heretics**" became a statute law in England. "On a high place in public, before the face of the people, the incorrigible heretic is to be burnt alive." The primate and the bishops hastened to their work.

William Sautree is the first victim under this terrible edict. He is the proto-martyr of Wycliffism. He was a preacher at St. Osyth's in London. Through natural fear of suffering he had recanted, and again relapsed at Norwich; but afterwards, coming to London, and gaining more strength of mind through faith, he openly preached the Gospel, and testified against transubstantiation. He was now doomed to the flames as a relapsed heretic. "The ceremony of his degradation." says the historian, "took place at St. Paul's, with all its minute, harassing, impressive formalities. He was then delivered over to the secular arm, and for the first time the air of London was darkened by the smoke of this kind of human sacrifice."

The second victim of this sanguinary edict was a plain working man. His crime was a common one among the Lollards—the denial of transubstantiation. This poor man, **John Babdy,** was brought from Worsester to London to stand his trial. But what must the plain countryman have thought, when he found himself before the dignified tribunal of the Archbishops of Canterbury and York, the Bishops of London, Winchester, Oxford, Norwich, Salisbury, Bath, Bangor, St. David's, Edmund, Duke of York, the Chancellor, and the Master of the Rolls? Arundel took great pains to persuade him that the consecrated bread was really and properly the body of Christ. Badby's answers were given with courage and firmness, and in words of simplicity and plain sense. He said that he would believe "the omnipotent God in Trinity," and said, moreover, "if every host being consecrated at the altar were the Lord's body, that then there be twenty thousand gods in England. But he believed in one God omnipotent." This incorrigible heretic was condemned to be burnt alive by these wolves, or rather fiends, in sheep's clothing. The Prince of Wales chanced to be passing through Smithfield just as the fire was kindling, or he came on purpose to witness the *Auto de Fé.* He looked on the calm inflexible martyr, but on the first sensation of the fire he heard the word "Mercy" fall from his lips. The prince, supposing that he was entreating the mercy of his judges, ordered him to be pulled out of the fire. "Will you forsake heresy?" said young Henry; "will you conform to the faith of holy mother Church? If you

will, you shall have a yearly maintenance out of the King's treasury." The martyr was unmoved. It was to the mercy of God, not of man, that he was appealing. Henry in a rage, ordered him to be thrust back into the blazing faggots, and he gloriously finished his course in the flames.

THE CONSTITUTION OF ARUNDEL.

Encouraged by the royal countenance, the clergy drew up the well-known Constitutions of Arundel, which forbade the reading of the Bible and the books of Wycliffe, asserting the Pope to be "not of pure man, but of true God, here on the earth." Persecution now raged in England; a prison in the archiepiscopal palace at Lambeth, which received the name of the Lollards' Tower, was crowded with the followers of Wycliffe. But there was a prisoner in the royal chamber as well as in the Lollards' Tower. Death, the messenger of Divine judgment to the unpardoned, had come. In the year 1413 Henry IV died. "It is appointed unto men once to die, but after this the judgment." These two dark and heavy clouds—death and judgment—were now ready to burst in all their fury on the unsheltered soul of the persecuting monarch. His last years were darkened by a loathsome disease—eruptions on his face. But, oh! what must his future be! Darkened not merely by a temporal disease, which Divine mercy restrains within certain limits, but with the full vengeance of eternal woe; and darkened and deepened still more by the fearful shadows of the burning piles in Smithfield. Oh, death! oh, judgment! oh, eternity! great, terrible, and certain! How is it, why is it, that man, in whose very nature this solemn truth is deeply planted, should be so forgetful and so regardless?

We now return to our history.

The witness of the execution of John Badby is now on the throne under the title of **Henry V.** But it is to be feared that the triumphs of Divine grace in that simple artisan made no salutary impression on his mind. Few princes have had a worse character before they reached the throne, and it was hoped that, having no religion, he would not be the slave of the hierarchy. But in this the Lollards were again bitterly disappointed. When he became king, he became religious according to the ideas of the time; and that was to signalise his orthodoxy by suppressing heresy. Thomas Netter, a Carmelite, one of the bitterest opponents of Wycliffism, was his confessor. Under his influence the laws against heretics were now rigorously executed.

THE TRIAL OF LORD COBHAM.

The victims, under this fresh outbreak of persecution, were of all classes; but the most distinguished for character and for

rank was **Sir John Oldcastle,** who, in right of his wife, sat in Parliament as Lord Cobham. He is spoken of as a knight of the highest military reputation, and who had served with great distinction in the French wars. The whole ardour of his soul was now thrown into his religion. He was a Wycliffite—a believer in the Word of God, a reader of Wycliffe's books, and a violent opposer of Popery. He had caused numerous copies of the reformer's writings to be made, and encouraged the *poor priests* to circulate them, and to preach the Gospel throughout the country. And so long as Henry IV lived he was unmolested. The king would not permit the clergy to lay hands on his old favourite. But the young king had not the same appreciation of Sir John, though he knew something of his value as a brave soldier and a skilful general, and wished to save him.

The primate Arundel had been watching narrowly the movements of his antagonist, and resolved to crush him. He was accused of holding many heretical opinions, and on the ground of these crimes he was denounced to the king. He was summoned to appear and answer before Henry. Cobham protested the most submissive loyalty. "You I am most prompt and willing to obey. You are a Christian king, the minister of God, that bears not the sword in vain, for the punishment of wicked doers, and the reward of the righteous. To you, under God, I owe my whole obedience. Whatsoever you command me in the Name of the Lord that I am ready to fulfil. To the Pope I owe neither suit nor service; he is the great Antichrist, the son of perdition, the abomination of desolation in the holy place." Henry thrust aside Cobham's hand as he presented his confession of faith: "I will not receive this paper. Lay it before your judges." Lord Cobham retired to his strong castle of Cowling, near Rochester. The summonses and the excommunications of the archbishop he treated with utter contempt. The king was influenced to send one of his officers to apprehend him. The loyalty of the old baron bowed to the royal officer. Had it been any of the Pope's agents, he would have settled the question with his sword according to the military spirit of the age, rather than have obeyed. He was led to the Tower. Ill-omened journey for nearly all who ever went that way!

The ecclesiastical tribunal, such as John Badby stood before, was sitting at St. Paul's. The prisoner appeared. "We must believe," said Arundel, "what the holy Church of Rome teaches, without demanding Christ's authority." He was called upon to confess his errors. "Believe!" shouted the priests, "Believe!" "I am willing to believe all that God desires," said Sir John; "but that the Pope should have authority to teach what is contrary to Scripture I never will believe." He was led back to the Tower. Two days after he was tried again in the Dominican

convent. A crowd of priests, canons, friars, clerks, and indulgence-sellers, thronged the large hall of the convent, and attacked the prisoner with abusive language. The suppressed indignation of the old veteran at length burst out into a wild prophetic denunciation of the Pope and the prelates. "Your wealth is the venom of the Church," he cried with a loud voice. "What meanest thou," said Arundel, "by venom?" "Your possessions and your lordships . . . Consider ye this, all men. Christ was meek and merciful; the Pope haughty and a tyrant. Rome is the nest of Antichrist; out of that nest come his disciples." He was now adjudged a heretic and condemned.

Resuming his calm courage, he fell on his knees, and lifting up his hands unto Heaven, exclaimed: "I confess to Thee, O God! and acknowledge that in my frail youth I seriously offended Thee by my pride, anger, intemperance, and impurity: for these offences I implore Thy mercy!"

With mild language, but with a stern and inflexible purpose, the wily priest endeavoured to reduce the high spirit of the baron, but in vain. "I will none otherwise believe than what I have told you. Do with me what you will. For breaking God's commandments man has never cursed me, but for breaking your traditions I and others are thus cruelly entreated." He was reminded that the day was passing, that he must either submit to the Church or the law must take its course. "I ask not your absolution: it is God's only that I need," said the honest knight, his face still wet with tears. The sentence of death was then read by Arundel with a clear and loud voice, all the priests and people standing with their heads uncovered. "It is well," replied the intrepid Cobham, "though you condemn my body, you have no power over my soul." He again knelt down and prayed for his enemies. He was led back to the Tower. But before the day appointed for his execution he made his escape.

Rumours of conspiracies, of a general rising of the Lollards, were now circulated by the priests and friars. The king became alarmed; about forty persons were instantly put on trial and executed. A new and violent statute was passed for the suppression of the Lollards; the government was afraid of such a man as Cobham heading the insurrection. A thousand marks was offered for his arrest. It does not appear that there was any ground for these alarms, except in the lies of the priests—their false rumours. For about three years Lord Cobham was concealed in Wales. He was retaken in December, 1417, and suffered without delay.

THE MARTYRDOM OF LORD COBHAM.

The once valiant knight, the man whom the king honoured, was now ignominiously dragged on a hurdle to St. Gile's-in-the-

Fields, and there suffered a double execution. He was suspended on a gallows over a slow fire, and then burned to death. Many persons of rank and distinction were present. Before his execution he fell on his knees and implored forgiveness for his enemies. He then addressed the multitude, exhorting them to follow the instructions which God had given them in His Holy Word; and to disclaim those false teachers, whose lives and conversation were so contrary to Christ and His example. He refused the service of a priest. "To God only, now as ever present, I confess and entreat His pardon," was his ready answer. The people wept and prayed with him and for him. In vain did the priests affirm that he was suffering as a heretic, and as an enemy to God. The people believed in him. His last words, drowned by the crackling of flames, were, "Praise God;" and, in his chariot of fire, surrounded by the angels of God, he joined on high the noble army of martyrs.

"How sweet the song of victory
That ends the battle's roar;
And sweet the weary warrior's rest
When all his toils are o'er."

The London prisons at this time were filled with Wycliffites, awaiting the vengeance of the persecuting clergy. "They should be hanged on the king's account, and burned on God's account," was the cry of the false priests of Rome. From this time until the Reformation their sufferings were severe. Those who escaped prison and death, were compelled to hold their religious meetings in secret. But the Papal influence gradually decreased and prepared the way for the Reformation in the next century.

Henry Chicheley, who succeeded Arundel as Archbishop of Canterbury, not only followed in his footsteps, but exceeded him in his exterminating wars against the Lollards. He is called by Milner, "the firebrand of his age." He urged on Henry in his contest with France, which caused an enormous loss of human life and the most dreadful miseries to both kingdoms. Arundel seems to have died by the hand of the Lord. Soon after he read the sentence of death on Lord Cobham, he was seized with a malady in the throat, of which he died. But here we leave them, and follow the Spirit of God who is working in other lands, and preparing the way for a glorious Reformation in Europe.*

* D'Aubigné, vol. v., p. 247; Milner, vol iii., p. 242; Milman, vol. vi., p. 154; Fox's "Acts and Monuments."

CHAPTER XXXI

The Reformation Movement in Bohemia

IT is truly satisfactory to know that the blessed soul-saving truths of the Gospel, which had been taught by Wycliffe and his followers were already producing results of a wide and lasting importance; that in spite of all the burnings and slayings of Rome, they were sinking deep into the hearts of thousands and hundreds of thousands, and spreading in nearly all parts of Europe. The **Bishop of Lodi** in the council of Constance, A.D. 1416—a year before the martyrdom of Cobham, and thirty-six years after the translation of the Bible—declared that the heresies of Wycliffe and Huss were spread over England, France, Italy, Hungary, Russia, Lithuania, Poland, Germany, and through all Bohemia. Thus a bitter enemy is unconsciously, or unintentionally, the witness of the influence and the unextinguishable vitality of the good seed of the Word of God.

But here it will be necessary to clear our way by saying a few words on the great Papal schism, before tracing the broad *silver line* of God's grace in the testimony and martyrdom of Huss and Jerome.

THE COUNCIL OF PISA.

At the commencement of the fifteenth century, the Roman Catholic Church had two heads—**two rival Popes,** Benedict XIII at Avignon, and Gregory XII at Rome. Each claimed to be the representative of Christ on earth, and each accused the other before the world of falsehood, perjury, and the most nefarious secret designs. So scandalous was the conduct of these two old grey-headed prelates, each above seventy years of age, that all Europe beheld with shame and indignation the obstinacy and wickedness of the contending Pontiffs. What was to be done, that the wounds of the divided Church might be healed? Kings and cardinals began to use both force and entreaty to induce both Popes to resign their claims that one might be unanimously chosen in their stead. They promised, under oath, that they would voluntarily resign if the interests of the Church should require it; but they had no sooner promised than they dissembled, deceived their cardinals, and violated their pledges. Finding that no dependence could be placed on their word, that they were men without truth, honour, or religion, the cardinals of Benedict revolted and joined the cardinals of Gregory, and the two

colleges assembled at Leghorn to consider what could be done to put an end to this long and disgraceful schism. They came to the conclusion that, under the circumstances, they had an undoubted right to convoke a council which might judge between the two competitors for the Popedom, and restore the Church to its unity.

Pisa, a walled city in central Italy, was selected as the most suitable place for the proposed council. This was an entirely new thing in Christendom. About a dozen cardinals, without the sanction of Pope or Emperor, called together the famous Council of Pisa. His infallibility was now made amenable to a new tribunal, and the highest prerogative of his throne usurped ; but he had so lost the respect of mankind that the whole church justified the cardinals in assuming power over him.

The council was opened on the 25th of March, 1409. The assembly was one of the most august and numerous ever seen in the history of Christendom. We will give a few details to show the youthful reader what an Œcumenical Council was in those days when Romen Catholicism was the religion of Europe. There were present twenty-two cardinals ; the Latin patriarchs of Alexandria, Antioch, Jerusalem, and Grade ; twelve archbishops were present in person, and fourteen by their proctors ; eighty bishops, and the proctors of one hundred and two ; eighty-seven abbots, and the proctors of two hundred others ; besides priors, generals of orders, the grand master of Rhodes, with sixteen commanders, the prior-general of the Knights of the Holy Sepulchre ; the deputy of the grand master and Knights of the Teutonic Order ; the deputies to the Universities of Oxford, Cambridge, Paris, Florence, Cracow, Vinenna, Prague, and many others ; more than three hundred doctors of theology ; and ambassadors from the Kings of England, France, Portugal, Bohemia, Sicily, Poland, and Cyprus ; from the Dukes of Burgundy, Brabant, etc., etc. Roads and rivers in all directions were covered for weeks with the pomp and splendour of these dignitaries. Some of them entered Pisa with two hundred horses in their train.*

The assembly continued its sittings from March till August. After much deliberation in due form, the contesting Popes were unanimously condemned. On the 5th of June sentence was passed. Both were declared to be heretical, perjured, contumacious, prohibited from assuming any longer the sovereign pontificate, and unworthy of any honour : the Papacy was declared vacant. The next step was to elect a new Pope. This was a more difficult matter. Where is the man, possessing such qualities, as will win back the reverence of mankind for the supreme Pontiff ? was now the grave question. Twenty-four

* Landon's "Manual of Councils."

cardinals, after being shut up for ten days, decided upon Peter of Candia, Cardinal of Milan, seventy years of age, who took the name of Alexander V. But the two old Pontiffs despised the decrees of the council, and continued to perform their functions as legitimate Popes. Benedict fulminated his anathemas against the council and against his rivals; Gregory did the same, having entered into an alliance with the ambitious Ladislaus, King of Naples; Alexander, who was still without the chair and the patrimony of St. Peter, issued his anathemas and excommunications against Benedict, Gregory, and Ladislaus, who had taken possession of the dominions of the Roman See.

Murmurs were now heard in all quarters that the council, instead of extinguishing the schism, had but added **a third Pope.** Where is now the boasted unity of the Roman Catholic Church? we may inquire; and through which Pope does apostolic succession flow? The three Popes, of whom Christendom was ashamed and weary, fiercely assailed each other with reciprocal excommunications, reproaches, and anathemas. Alexander V lived only about a year, and his place was filled by John XXIII, a man, says Mosheim, destitute of principle and piety. The difficulties were greater than ever; the Papal kingdom thus divided against itself could not stand; it was on the eve of total ruin. Some advised that the European powers should unite and sweep away the name and power of the Pontiff, or at least limit his autocracy. It was now manifest that the Popes themselves would make no personal sacrifice for the peace of the Church; so what next could be done to arrest the disgraceful war of the Pontiffs and heal the wounds of the divided Church, was now the perplexing question. Had the Church been left to itself, Ladislaus might then have taken complete possession of Rome and all the Papal provinces, and left the chair of St. Peter a throne in name only. But the princes of the earth were not yet prepared for such a sacrilegious overthrow. It awaited the days of Victor Emmanuel.

Sigismund, Emperor of Germany, the King of France, and other kings and princes of Europe, who showed more concern for the credit and welfare of the Church than the selfish Popes, prevailed on John XXIII to assemble a general council of the whole Church, for the purpose of bringing to a close this great controversy.

THE COUNCIL OF CONSTANCE.

Constance, an imperial city on the German side of the Alps, was agreed upon as a suitable place for the gathering of such an assembly. It was accessible from all parts of the world, and provisions could be more easily obtained by means of its spacious lake. So great was the influx of persons, that it was reckoned

that not less than thirty thousand horses were brought to Constance, which may give us some idea of the enormous concourse of people ; and the ship-loads of provisions that would be required. Besides ecclesiastical dignitaries of every name innumerable, there were more than a hundred princes ; one hundred and eight counts ; two hundred barons ; and twenty-seven knights. Tournaments, feasts, and various amusements were arranged by way of relief from their spiritual occupations. Five hundred minstrels were in attendance to beguile the vacant hours of these holy priests and noblemen, and to soothe their anxious minds. They had come together for the avowed purpose of healing the almost deadly wound of Antichrist ; but what are the facts of history ? For the space of three years and a half—commencing November 5th, 1414—these dissolute men filled the quiet, ancient city of Constance with their unblushing wickedness. To write that which was then open as day would defile the pages of our history. The heart shudders as we think of the pollution, the daring impiety and hypocrisy, of these so-called holy fathers, to say nothing of their remorseless cruelty in the burning of Huss and Jerome.

The object of this great council was twofold : (1) To put an end to the schism which had afflicted the Church for so many years. (2) For the suppression of the heresies of Wycliffe and Huss. The first of these objects was so far satisfactorily accomplished. Having established that a Pontiff is subject to a council of the whole Church, John XXIII was deposed on account of the irregularities of his life, and the violation of his oath to the Emperor. Gregory and Benedict were again deposed ; and Otho de Colonna was elected Pontiff, and assumed the name of **Martin V.**

The doctrines of Wycliffe, which John Huss and his followers were accused of propagating in the cities and villages of Bohemia, even in the University of Prague, were most offensive to the members of the council, and now engaged their attention.

THE SPREAD OF THE TRUTH.

The marriage of Anne of Bohemia to Richard II of England had brought the two countries into close connection, just at the moment when the doctrines of Wycliffe were making their most rapid progress. "**Bohemian scholars,**" says Milman, "sat at the feet of the bold professor of theology at Oxford ; English students were found at Prague. The writings of Wycliffe were thus brought into Germany in great numbers, some in Latin, some translated into Bohemian, and disseminated by admiring partizans." The princess, whose pious exercises and study of the Scriptures have been commemorated by preachers and historians, had been first affected by the reforming movement in

her own land. She brought with her to England versions of the Gospels in the German and Bohemian tongues as well as in Latin. These were then precious treasures to one of her piety and love for the pure Word of God. But they also show us, though indirectly, the progress which the new doctrines were making in Germany at that early period.

One of her first acts in this country shows the power of the grace of Christ in her heart, and presents a striking contrast to the persecuting spirit of Jezebel. "Some days after the marriage of the royal pair," says Miss Strickland, "they returned to London, and the coronation of the Queen was performed most magnificently. At the young Queen's earnest request a general pardon was granted by the King at her consecration. The afflicted people stood in need of this respite, as the executions, since Wat Tyler's insurrection, had been bloody and barbarous beyond all precedent. The land was reeking with the blood of the unhappy peasantry, when the humane intercession of the gentle Anne of Bohemia put a stop to the executions. This mediation obtained for Richard's bride the title of '**The Good Queen Anne**;' and years, instead of impairing the popularity, usually so evanescent in England, only increased the esteem felt by her subjects for this beneficent princess."

How truly refreshing to meet with such an instance of consistent piety at such a period, and in such a station of life! But there were many such at that time in Bohemia and other lands. After the death of Anne, her Bohemian attendants returned to their own country, and carried with them the valuable writings of John Wycliffe. These had been studied by many foreigners at Oxford, and they were now diligently read by the members of the university at Prague.

The most famous of these doctors was **John Huss**, or John of Hassinetz, a village near the Bavarian frontier. He was born about the year 1369, so that he must have been about fifteen years of age when his admired and acknowledged teacher, the venerable Wycliffe died. It is interesting to look back and contemplate the ways of our God in His care for the maintenance and spread of the truth. Who then could have thought, that in an obscure village in Bohemia, He was raising up and qualifying a noble witness, who was to bear, in his turn, "the torch of truth, and to transmit it with a martyr's hand to a long succession of witnesses—and he was worthy of the heavenly office?"* He was early distinguished, we are informed, by the force and acuteness of his understanding, the modesty and gravity of his demeanour, and the irreproachable austerity of his life. He was tall, slender, with a thoughtful countenance; gentle, friendly, and accessible to all. His talents being of a high order, he was

* Waddington, vol. iii., p. 175.

sent to the university of Prague, with the view of studying for the Church. Here he distinguished himself by his extensive attainments as a scholar. He advanced rapidly in Church and university preferments, and was made confessor to the Queen Sophia. He was also appointed preacher in the university chapel, called Bethlehem—the house of bread—on account of the spiritual food which was there to be distributed in the vernacular tongue.

This gave the bold and eloquent preacher an excellent opportunity for unfolding the Word of God to the people in their mother-tongue ; and we doubt not that he did so, for he was a sincere Christian and a true witness for Christ. But like most, if not all reformers, he may have been more anxious at first to preach against prevailing abuses than to instruct the people in the pure truth of God. We are convinced that this has generally been the case, and in all kinds of reform, and must account for many scenes of violence in the best of causes. If the people were led, first of all, through the blessing of God, to receive the truth, especially the truth as it is in Jesus, the end would be gained without the mind being inflamed by hearing denounced in strong language the vices of their priestly oppressors. The pride, luxury, and licentiousness of the whole clerical system had become intolerable to mankind ; so that to condemn the abuses without touching the doctrines of the Church was the high road to popularity.

God is wiser than men, and if we are guided by His Word we shall seek to lead the ignorant to love the truth and follow it ; rather than create in their minds a hatred for error, which, without the knowledge of Christ, is sure to end in revolutionary excitement and disaster. This Divine principle is applicable to the smallest disputes as well as the greatest among men. It is always better to enlighten than to agitate. The servant of the Lord must not strive ; but be gentle unto all men, apt to teach, patient. In meekness instructing those that oppose themselves ; if God peradventure will give them repentance to the acknowledging of the truth ; and that they recover themselves out of the snare of the Devil, who are taken captive by him at his will (2 Tim. 2. 24-26).

CIVIL COMMOTIONS.

Good man as John Huss was, he had overlooked the wholesome advice of the apostle. He first became involved in a university quarrel as to the privileges of the students ; and again his opposition to Gregory XII gave great offence to the Archbishop of Bohemia, who sided with the Antipope. Prohibitory decrees were issued against Huss, but, being a great favourite at court and with the people, nothing was done. He was

allowed to continue his preaching in the vernacular language. But in a few short months circumstances arose which kindled anew the flames of religious contention in Bohemia.

Among the first acts of John XXIII was to send forth his emissaries to preach a crusade against Ladislaus, King of Naples, and to offer the usual indulgences. The vendors of these indulgences, while haranguing the people about the value of their wares, were interrupted and exposed to insult and outrage. The magistrates interfered ; some of the rioters were seized and privately executed ; but the blood which flowed from the prison into the street betrayed the fate of the prisoners. Women dipped their handkerchiefs in the blood to treasure it as a precious relic ; the passions of the multitude were stirred to the uttermost ; the town-house was stormed ; the headless bodies of these young men were carried off by the people, and borne in solemn procession to the various Churches, chanting holy anthems. They were at length buried in the chapel of Bethlehem, with the aromatic offerings usually deposited on the tombs of martyrs. The three young men were now spoken of in sermons and writings as saints and martyrs, and the fermentation increased.

John Huss, knowing that he was suspected and accused of being the prime mover in the whole affair, wisely withdrew for a time from the city. He was summoned, but without effect, to appear before the tribunal of the Vatican. Huss was now declared to be under the ban of excommunication, and the place of his residence to be under the Papal interdict. Regardless of these Church censures, he continued preaching all over the country. The minds of the people being already greatly excited were easily aroused to the greatest indignation against the clergy. Nearly the whole of the kingdom was on his side, at least as against the abuses of the hierarchy.

THE IMPRISONMENT OF JOHN HUSS.

The agitation which these events had produced was not allayed when the Council of Constance assembled. The Emperor Sigismund, who had convened the council, requested his brother the king, **Wenceslaus,** to send Huss to Constance, and promised him a safe conduct. The terms of this passport were very explicit ; it required all the Emperor's subjects to allow the doctor to pass and repass in full security. Huss readily obeyed the Emperor's summons, as he had always desired the opportunity of appealing to a general council. He arrived in Constance earlier than the Emperor, and was immediately brought before the Pope, John XXIII, for examination. His doctrines were well known ; a long list of charges was brought against him ; and as he refused to retract them he was thrown into prison on a charge of heresy, notwithstanding the safe-conduct of the

Emperor. And in order to justify their flagrant breach of honour and pacify Sigismund, they passed a decree that no faith ought to be kept with a heretic.

Loud complaints were sent to the Emperor from Bohemia. He received the first intimation of the imprisonment of Huss with indignation, and threatened to break open the prison. But on reaching Constance he was plied with arguments from the canon law, urging that the civil power did not extend to the protection of a heretic; and the treacherous priests absolved him from all responsibility. He now allowed the enemies of Huss to take their course. In the gloom of a loathsome dungeon, without a breath of fresh air, and harassed by priests and monks, the reformer became very ill. But the deluded Emperor cared for none of these things. Historians, however, have not been wanting who utterly condemn the faithless conduct of the Emperor, and charge him with having violated truth, honour and humanity, in surrendering Huss to the will of the priests. "Breach of faith," says Milman, "admits of no excuse; and perfidy is twice perfidious in an emperor." Others affirm that in thus sacrificing Huss, he heaped up for himself many troubles which came upon him during the remainder of his reign. But what shall we say of the future—of the dark future under the fearful shadow of that heartless abandonment of a true servant of Christ to the merciless priests of Rome? The Master will not forget to own in that day His identification with His servant, and that in the most touching way. "Verily, I say unto you, inasmuch as ye have done it unto one of the least of these my brethren, ye have done it unto Me." But if such be the guilt of the Emperor, what must be the guilt of the Pope and the prelates? We must leave the answer to the great white throne.

Already the most gloomy forebodings were gathering around the Pope. In the first session of the council it was proposed that the **three Popes should resign,** prior to the election of a new Pontiff. John, the only one of the three present, promised to resign for the peace of the Church, and to read his own abdication the following day. But promises, or oaths, or honour, were nothing to John. By the assistance of some friends he escaped from Constance in the disguise of a postillion. The Emperor was betrayed and indignant. There was a hot pursuit after John. He was caught in Switzerland and brought back a prisoner; but unlike his victim, Huss, he was conscience-stricken, without honour, without dignity, without courage. He was now compelled to give up the insignia of universal spiritual power, the Papal seal, and the fisherman's ring.

Robert Hallam, Bishop of Salisbury, at the head of the English, in a burst of righteous indignation, declared that a Pope so covered with crime deserved to be burned at the stake. He was

taken to the castle of Gotleben, where the good John Huss had been pining in irons for some months. There Pope John languished till the close of the session, which was nearly four years. But, after humbling himself at the feet of the reigning Pontiff, he was raised to the rank of a cardinal, and permitted to close his days in peace. But no such leniency was exercised towards the righteous and blameless Reformer, whose examination and execution we will now briefly trace.

THE EXAMINATION OF JOHN HUSS.

In the first movement against Huss, the Archbishop of Prague instituted a vigilant search for the translations of Wycliffe's writings; and having collected about two hundred volumes, many of them richly bound and decorated with precious ornaments, he caused them to be publicly burnt in the market-place at Prague. Much was said as to the identity of the doctrines of Huss with those of Wycliffe, which the council condemned as heretical under forty-five propositions; and decreed that his bones should be taken out of their grave and burned. Huss was also charged with being "infected with the leprosy of the Waldenses." Under these two general heads, Wycliffism and Waldensianism, a vast number of special charges, grossly offensive to the hierarchy, were contained.

The council, although bent on the destruction of Huss, would willingly have avoided the scandal of a public examination. Certain passages which his enemies had extracted from his writings were thought sufficient for his condemnation without a public hearing. Accordingly, he was continually harassed and persecuted in his cell by private visits, urging him to retract or confess; and not infrequently taunted and insulted. He remonstrated against this inquisitorial secrecy, and demanded for his defence an audience of the whole council. His faithful friend, John of Chlum, with other Bohemian noblemen, requested the Emperor to interfere, and with his assistance the object of the fathers was defeated, and a public trial was obtained.

On the 5th of June, 1415, John Huss was brought in chains into the great senate of Christendom. The charges against him were read. But when he proposed to maintain his doctrine by the authority of the Scriptures and the testimony of the Fathers, his voice was drowned in a tumult of contempt and derision. The assembly was compelled to adjourn its proceedings. Two days after he was brought up again, and Sigismund himself attended to preserve order.

The accusers of Huss were numerous, though less clamorous than the previous day. With the exception of two or three Bohemian noblemen, the reformer stood alone. He was greatly exhausted by illness, and enfeebled by long confinement, but his

noble spirit refused to bend before the violence of his persecutors. He answered with great calmness and dignity. "I will not retract unless you can prove what I have said to be contrary to the Word of God," was his usual reply. When charged with having preached Wycliffite doctrines, he admitted that he had said, "Wycliffe was a true believer, that his soul was now in Heaven, that he could not wish his own soul more safe than Wycliffe's." This confession drew forth a burst of contemptuous laughter from the reverend fathers; and, after some hours of turbulent discussion, Huss was removed, and the assembly broke up. He went to his prison, and they, at least many of them, to their scenes of grossest dissipation.

THE COUNCIL EMBARRASSED.

The following day Huss stood a third time before the council. Thirty-nine propositions were produced and read, alleging errors which he had advanced in his writings, his preachings, and his private conversations. Huss, like most reformers, held the doctrine of salvation by grace without works of law. He affirmed that none were members of the true Church of Christ whatever their dignity, whether Popes or cardinals, if they were ungodly. "True faith in the Word of God," he said, "is the foundation of all virtues." He appealed to the honoured name of **Augustine** on these points; and maintained that the only title of churchman, prelate, or Pope to apostolic succession was to possess the virtues of the apostles. "The Pontiff who lives not the life of St. Peter is no Vicar of Christ, but the forerunner of Antichrist." He quoted a sentence from **St. Bernard** which gave great weight to this solemn saying: "The slave of avarice is the successor not of St. Peter, but of Judas Iscariot." The council was embarrassed, as no churchman would venture to turn into ridicule the sayings of such honoured Fathers.

The propositions treated chiefly of two things: (1) The false theology of Rome—Huss had denounced the Popish doctrine of salvation by works, in the many ways which the Church prescribes. (2) The false ecclesiastical system of Popery with its glaring abuses—these he exposed and condemned in the most unsparing terms. But his condemnation seems to have hinged on his boldly maintaining that no office, king or priest, availed in God's sight, if the king or the priest lived in mortal sin. When interrogated on this point by the Cardinal of Cambray, who saw his perilous position in the presence of the Emperor; Huss repeated his words aloud: "A king in mortal sin is no king before God." These words sealed his fate. "There never lived," said Sigismund, "a more pernicious heretic." "What!" exclaimed the cardinal, "art thou not content with degrading the ecclesiastical power? Wouldst thou thrust kings from their thrones?"

"A man," argued another cardinal, "may be a true Pope, prelate, or king, though not a true Christian." "Why, then," said Huss, "have you deposed John XXIII?" The Emperor answered, "For his notorious misdeeds." Huss was now guilty of another sin—discomfiting and perplexing his adversaries.

It would be tedious and uninteresting to notice all the false charges and calumnies which were heaped upon him, and the firm answers which he gave; but the following may be considered as the substance of his long trial. He was vehemently pressed to retract his errors, to own the justice of the accusations, to make unqualified submission to the decrees of the council, to abjure all his opinions. But neither promises nor menaces moved him. "To abjure," he said, "is to renounce an error that has been held. As to the opinions imputed to me, which I have never held, those I cannot retract; as to those which I do indeed profess, I am ready to retract them—to renounce them with all my heart—when I shall be better instructed by the council." The fathers replied to the conscientious integrity of their victim, "The province of the council is not to instruct but to decide, to command obedience to its decisions or to enforce the penalty." The tender shepherds of Constance now loudly demanded a universal retractation, or to burn alive the atrocious heretic. The Emperor condescended to argue with him; the most able and subtle of the doctors, both in philosophy and theology, reasoned with him; but Huss replied with firm humility that he sought instruction, that he could not abjure errors of which he was not convinced. He was carried back to prison; the faithful Bohemian knight—**John of Chlum**—a true Onesiphorus—followed to console his worn and weary friend. "Oh, what a comfort to me," said Huss, "to see that this nobleman did not disdain to stretch out his arm to a poor heretic in irons, whom all the world, as it were, had forsaken."

THE JUDGMENT OF SIGISMUND.

The court being cleared of the prisoner, the Emperor rose and said: "You have heard the charges against Huss, some confessed by himself, some proved by trustworthy witnesses. In my judgment each of these crimes is deserving of death. If he does not forswear all his errors, he must be burned . . . the evil must be extirpated root and branch. If any of his partizans are in Constance they must be proceeded against with the utmost severity, especially his disciple, Jerome of Prague." When Huss was informed of the Emperor's judgment, he merely replied, "I was warned not to trust to his safe-conduct. I have been under a sad delusion; he has condemned me even before mine enemies."

After this mockery of a trial and final audience, he was left in prison for nearly a month. During this time, persons of the

highest rank visited him and entreated him to abjure the errors which were imputed to him. It was hoped that, through increasing bodily infirmity and private importunity he might be overcome. But not so. He who enabled him to stand firm before public threatenings and insults was with him still. "If I abjure errors," he said, "that were falsely laid to my charge, that would be nothing less than perjury." He regarded his fate as sealed, although all through his trial and imprisonment he professed himself willing to renounce any opinion that could be proved untrue from Scripture. The real object of these private solicitations on the part of the prelates was to shake his constancy, and induce him to retract. With the view so beautifully expressed by Waddington we entirely agree : "Many individuals of various characters, but alike anxious to save him from the last infliction, visited his prison, and pressed him with a variety of motives and arguments ; but they were all blunted by the rectitude of his conscience and the singleness of his purpose. One of his bitterest enemies, named Paletz, was among the number ; but though his counsels had been successful in degrading the person of the reformer, they failed when they would have seduced him to infamy."

On the eve of the day destined for his execution, he was visited by his true and faithful friend, John of Chlum—a name which is worthy to be everywhere recorded with all honour—a name that stands almost alone for Christian feeling and virtue in that vast assembly of professedly Christian teachers, and that redeems our common humanity from treachery and cruelty. "My dear master," said the noble disciple, "I am unlettered, and consequently unfit to counsel one so enlightened as you. Nevertheless, if you are secretly conscious of any one of those errors which have been publicly imputed to you, I do entreat you not to feel any shame in retracting it ; but if, on the contrary, you are convinced of your innocence, I am so far from advising you to say anything against your conscience, that I exhort you rather to endure every form of torture than to renounce anything which you hold to be true." Huss was greatly overcome by the wise and affectionate counsel of his faithful friend, and replied with tears : "That God was his witness how ready he had ever been, and still was, to retract on oath, and with his whole heart, from the moment he should be convinced of any error by evidence *from Holy Scripture.*"

It is perfectly evident from all history, that in the sufferings and the fortitude of Huss there is no trace of pride or stubbornness. He was firm, but he was humble ; he expected death, he prepared to meet it, but never planned or schemed to escape it. "I have appealed, he said, "to Jesus Christ, the One all-powerful and all-just Judge ; to Him I commit my cause, who will judge

every man, not according to false witnesses and erring councils, but according to truth and man's desert." This was the crowning act of his wickedness ; the fatal hour was now come.

THE CONDEMNATION OF HUSS.

On the morning of 6th July, 1415, the council met in the cathedral. Huss, as a heretic, was detained in the porch while Mass was celebrated. The Bishop of Lodi preached from the text, "That the body of sin might be destroyed" (Rom. 6. 6). It would be difficult to say whether from gross ignorance or malice he perverted the Word of God to the purpose of the council. It was a fierce declamation against heresies and errors, but chiefly against Huss, who was pronounced to be as bad as Arius, and worse than Sabellius. He closed with adulatory praise to the Emperor. "It is thy glorious office to destroy heresies and schisms, especially **this obstinate heretic,**" pointing to the prisoner, who was kneeling in an elevated place and in fervent prayer. About thirty articles of accusation were read. Huss frequently attempted to speak, but was not allowed. The sentence was then passed : "That for several years John Huss has seduced and scandalised the people by the dissemination of many doctrines manifestly heretical, and condemned by the Church, especially those of John Wycliffe. That he has obstinately trampled upon the keys of the Church and the ecclesiastical censures ; that he has appealed to Jesus Christ as sovereign judge, to the contempt of the ordinary judges of the Church ; and that such an appeal was injurious, scandalous, and made in derision of ecclesiastical authority. That he has persisted to the last in his errors, and even maintained them in full council. It is therefore ordained that he be publicly deposed and degraded from holy orders as an obstinate and incorrigible heretic." Huss prayed for the forgiveness of his enemies, which called forth derision from some members of the council ; but in the midst of it all he lifted up his hands, and exclaimed, "Behold, most gracious Saviour, how the council condemns as an error what Thou hast prescribed and practised, when, overborne by enemies, Thou committedst Thy cause to God Thy Father, leaving us this example, that when we are oppressed we may have recourse to the judgment of God." In his closing remarks he turned and looked steadily at Sigismund, and said : "I came to this council under the public faith of the Emperor." A deep blush passed over his face at this sudden and unexpected rebuke.

THE DEGRADATION AND EXECUTION OF JOHN HUSS.

The Archbishop of Milan and six assisting bishops performed the inglorious ceremony of degradation. Huss was clothed in priestly garments, the sacramental cup was put into his hand,

and he was led to the high altar as if about to celebrate Mass. The devoted martyr calmly observed, "that his Redeemer had been arrayed with royal robes in mockery." The bishops appointed then proceeded to the office of degradation. He was stripped, one by one, of his sacred vestments, the cup was taken from his hand, the tonsure was obliterated by the scissors, a paper crown, daubed over with demons, was placed on his head, and with the superscription, **Heresiarch.** The prelates then piously devoted his soul to the regions of eternal woe. "Accursed Judas, who, having forsaken the counsel of peace, art entered into that of the Jews, we take this holy cup from thee, in which is the blood of Jesus Christ." But God stood by His faithful servant in a remarkable way, and enabled him to cry aloud, "I trust in the mercy of God, I shall drink of it this day in His kingdom." "We devote thy soul to the infernal demons," said the prelates. "But I," said Huss, "commit my spirit into Thy hands, O Lord Jesus Christ; unto Thee I commend my soul which Thou hast redeemed."

In the most awfully solemn mockery and daring hypocrisy, the false Church thought to rid itself of the stain of blood by declaring Huss to be cut off from the ecclesiastical body, released from the grasp of the Church, and consigned as a layman to the vengeance of the secular arm. The Emperor now took charge of the outcast, and commanded his immediate execution. The Elector Palatine, with eight hundred horse, and a great multitude from the city, conducted the martyr to the stake. They stopped before the bishop's palace, where a heap of his books which had been condemned by the council were burned. He only smiled at this feeble act of vengeance. He endeavoured to speak to the people and the imperial guards in Germany, but the Elector prevented him, and ordered him to be burned. But nothing could disturb the peace of his mind: God was with him. He chanted the Psalms as he went along, and prayed with such fervour, that the people of the town said: "What this man has done, we know not; but we hear him offer up most excellent prayers to God." On reaching the place of execution he kneeled down, prayed for the forgiveness of his enemies, and commended his soul into the hands of Christ.

Even after Huss was tied to the stake, and the wood piled around him, the Elector asked him if he would not now recant and save his life. He nobly replied, "What I have written and taught was in order to rescue souls from the power of the Devil, and to deliver them from the tyranny of sin, and I do gladly seal what I have written and taught with my blood." The faggots were then lighted; he remained firm and suffered with unshaken constancy, but his sufferings were brief. The Lord permitted a rising volume of smoke to suffocate his faithful

martyr before the fire had scorched him. With the last feeble accents of his voice he was heard singing the praise of Jesus who died to save him. His ashes were carefully collected and thrown into the lake, but his happy soul was now with Jesus in the Paradise of God. The faithful piety of his affectionate followers tore up the earth from the spot of his martyrdom, carried it to Bohemia, moistened it with their tears, and preserved it as a relic of one whose name is never to be forgotten, but ever to be loved.

Thus died, thus slept in Jesus, one of the **true harbingers of the Reformation.** It is admitted by historians generally that he was one of the most blameless and virtuous of men, that the records of his constancy are not infected by a single stain of mere philosophical stoicism, or tainted by vanity, in anticipating a martyr's crown. But his death has affixed the brand of eternal infamy on the council that condemned him, and on the Emperor that betrayed him. His beloved friend and brother in Christ, Jerome of Prague, soon followed him to his home and rest on high.

THE ARREST AND IMPRISONMENT OF JEROME.

The news of the imprisonment of Huss greatly affected his friend and fellow-labourer, Jerome of Prague. He followed him to the council; but being warned by Huss of his danger, and finding that a safe-conduct could not be obtained, he left for Bohemia; but he was arrested and brought back to Constance in chains. Immediately after his arrest, and laden with many chains, he was examined before a general congregation of the council. There were many to accuse and taunt him; among them was the far-famed Gerson of Paris. But the prisoner firmly declared that he was willing to lay down his live in defence of the Gospel he had preached. At the close of the day he was remanded till the case of Huss was settled, and committed to the care of the Archbishop of Rigo. This cruel monster of a priest treated him with great barbarity. Jerome was a master in theology, though a layman, and a man of acknowledged piety, learning, and eloquence. The body of this Catholic Christian gentleman, who held a high place in the highest circles in Bohemia was fastened to a tall upright beam, his head left to hang down, his arms and his feet bound. Several months of weary confinement, in chains, in darkness, on low diet, and none to comfort or strengthen him! His mind and spirit failed under his sufferings. He was persuaded to make a full retractation of all errors against the Catholic faith, especially those of Wycliffe and John Huss.

Poor Jerome! Having abjured the opinions which had been imputed to him, he was entitled to liberty; but there was neither

feeling, faith, honour, nor justice in the assembly. He was thrown back into prison under alleged suspicions as to the sincerity of his recantations. This opened the eyes of Jerome. God used it to the restoring of his soul. He bitterly repented of his recantation. Communion with God was again enjoyed; he rejoiced once more in the light of His countenance. Fresh charges were brought against him, that he might be seduced to a deeper humiliation. But the locks of the Nazarite had grown in his loathsome prison. At his final examination, being allowed to speak for himself, he surprised his enemies by asserting that his condemnation of Wycliffe and Huss was a sin which he deeply repented. He began by calling upon God to govern his heart by His grace, that his lips might advance nothing but what should conduce to the blessing of his soul. "I am not ignorant," he exclaimed, "that many excellent men have been borne down by false witnesses, and unjustly condemned." He then ran down the long list of Scripture, noticing such cases as Joseph, Isaiah, Daniel, the prophets, John the Baptist, the blessed Lord Himself, His apostles, and Stephen. He then dwelt on all the great men of antiquity who had been the victims of false accusation, and who had laid down their lives for the truth.

The glowing eloquence of Jerome excited the wonder and admiration of his enemies, especially when they considered that for three hundred and forty days he had been immured in a dungeon. All his calm intrepidity had returned, or rather, he now spoke in the power of the Holy Spirit. He declared that no act of his life had caused him such remorse as his cowardly abjuration. "This sinful retractation," he exclaimed, "I now fully retract, and am resolved to maintain the tenets of Wycliffe and Huss to death, believing them to be the true and pure doctrines of the Gospel, even as their lives were blameless and holy." No further proof of his heresy was required. He was condemned as a relapsed heretic.

The Bishop of Lodi was again called upon to preach the funeral sermon. His text was, "He upbraideth them with their unbelief and hardness of heart," applying it especially to the incorrigible heretic before him (Mark 16. 14). In reply, Jerome addressed the council, and said, "You have condemned me without having convicted me of any crime; a sting will be left on your consciences, a worm that shall never die. I appeal to the Supreme Judge, before whom you must appear with me to answer for this day." Poggius, a Roman Catholic writer then present, declares: "Every ear was captivated, and every heart touched; but the assembly was very unruly and indecent." Like Paul before Agrippa, Jerome was no doubt the happiest man in that vast assembly. He was enjoying the promised presence of His blessed Lord and Master.

THE EXECUTION OF JEROME.

On the 30th of May, 1416, Jerome was delivered to the secular arm. The council vainly thought that, by making the civil magistrate the executioner of its unrighteous decrees, it would avoid the enduring stain of blood ; but God is not mocked. He hath said of the mother of harlots : " And in her was found the blood of prophets, and of saints, and of all that were slain upon the earth " (Rev. 18. 24). There the God of judgment will find the blood of Huss and of Jerome. Æneas Sylvius, afterwards Pope, in writing to a friend, says, " Jerome went to the stake as to a joyful festival ; and when the executioner would have kindled the faggots behind his back, ' Place the fire before me,' he exclaimed ; ' if I had dreaded it, I would have escaped it.' Such was the end of a man incredibly excellent. I was an eye-witness to that catastrophe, and beheld every act." Such is the testimony of two Roman Catholic writers—Poggius and Sylvius—and members of the council. They bear witness to the indecent conduct of the council, and to the moral heroism of the two martyrs. Jerome continued to sing hymns, with a " deep untrembling voice," after he was bound to the stake. He raised his voice, and sang a paschal hymn, then very popular in the Church.

> " Hail ! happy day, and ever be adored,
> When Hell was conquered by Heaven's great Lord."

He continued to live in the flames a quarter of an hour. " Thou knowest, Lord, how I have loved Thy truth," were amongst the last words of Jerome of Prague. Not a word fell from his lips that discovered the least timidity. Both he and Huss sang in the flames to their last breath. And bright angels in waiting carried their happy souls to Heaven, where they would be present with the Lord.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CHARACTER OF THE COUNCIL.

The reader can be at no loss to judge of the principles which govern Roman Catholics in their treatment of Protestants, or heretics so called, with the **Council of Constance** before him. The character of Jezebel never changes ; as it then was, so is it to-day, and so it shall ever be. The only question is the opportunity for its display. And we must bear in mind that the burning of those two venerable heralds of the Reformation was not under a Papal edict, or a decree of the court of Rome, but by an ecclesiastical council, representing the whole Church of Rome—indeed all the powers of the Roman world, civil and ecclesiastical.

The utter contempt for the retractation of the enfeebled Jerome, and the unblushing violation of the safe-conduct of the Emperor to Huss, are alike iniquitous and perfidious. What dependence can be placed on the word, the promise, or the most

sacred oath, even of a mitred head, holding such principles? We must leave the reader to judge for himself; but what language could adequately express the base, cowardly, traitor-like character of such principles and actions? Truth, righteousness, honour, justice, humanity, are all publicly sacrificed on the altar of ecclesiastical dominion.

The heresy of Huss and Jerome has never been clearly defined. They seem to have retained to the last their early impressions of transubstantiation, the worship of the saints and the Virgin Mary. They testified against the power of the clergy, which had so long ruled and enslaved the minds of men, and exposed their avarice and corruptions. By these public appeals they struck at the very foundations of the whole Papal system, for which also they were honoured with the crown of martyrdom. But God, who is above all, was overruling these events for the spreading forth of the long-hidden Gospel, and for the ripening of Europe for the approaching changes in almost all the relations of both Church and State which were accomplished in the sixteenth century.

We must now glance for a moment at the *fearful effects* of the decrees of this general council.

THE BOHEMIAN WAR.

The martyrdom of the Bohemian doctors had aroused a general feeling of national as well as religious indignation. The Emperor, the Pope, and the prelates had very soon to pay bitterly for their flagrant injustice and the fires of Constance. Retribution swiftly followed. Four hundred and fifty-two nobles and knights of Bohemia and Moravia attached their seals to a letter addressed to the council, protesting against the proceedings of the assembly, and the imputations which had been cast on the orthodoxy of Bohemia by burning the most illustrious of their teachers. But the council refused to listen to these reasonable remonstrances, and resolved to make no concessions. The holy fathers, as they are profanely called, cared much more for their own sinful pleasures than for the welfare of the people. Although professedly assembled for the reformation of the Church, the real effect of their four years' sojourn in Constance was the demoralisation of the whole city and its suburbs. The licentiousness and profligacy of this council has probably never been equalled.

In the year 1418, just before the council was dissolved, **Martin V,** now the sole and undisputed Pope, sent forth a bull of crusades against the contumacious heretics, requiring all authorities, ecclesiastical and civil, to labour for the suppression of the heresies of Wycliffe, Huss, and Jerome. The question was now fairly committed to the decision of the sword. Cardinal

John, of Ragusa, was sent as legate to Bohemia. He was a violent man, and talked of reducing the country by fire and sword. In his character as legate he burned several persons who opposed his authority. The Bohemians, by such atrocities, were roused to fury. The followers of Huss united and became a strong party. They bound themselves in the most solemn manner to carry out the reformation principles of their martyred chief. Huss had strongly condemned the practice of the Church in withholding the *cup* from the laity : this they adopted as the symbol of their community, and displayed the eucharistic cup on their banners. Headed by **Ziska,** the one eyed, a knight of great military genius, they moved about the country, everywhere enforcing the administration of the sacrament in *both* kinds—the wine as well as the bread.

The churches of Prague having been refused to the clergy who followed the doctrines of Huss, they began to look for places where they could enjoy freedom of worship. A great meeting of Hussites was convened in the month of July, 1419, on a high hill, south of Prague, where they were formally united by the celebration of the communion in the open air. It must have been an imposing sight, but, alas ! the sequel of their history draws a dark shadow over it. On the spacious summit of that hill three hundred tables were spread, and forty-two thousand, consisting of men, women, and children, partook of the sacrament in both kinds. A love-feast followed the communion, at which the rich shared with the poor, but no drinking, dancing, gaming, or music, was allowed. There the people encamped in tents, and, being fond of the use of Scripture names, called it *Mount Tabor*, whence they obtained the name of Taborites. They spoke of themselves as *the chosen people of God*, and stigmatised their enemies, the Roman Catholics, as Amalekites, Moabites, and Philistines.

The luxury, pride, avarice, simony, and other vices of the clergy were denounced on the hill of Tabor, and Ziska and his followers exhorted the communicants to engage in the work of Church reformation. This great assembly, under Ziska, first marched to Prague, where they arrived at night. The following day, a Hussite clergyman, walking at the head of a procession, with a cup in his hand, was struck with a stone as he passed the town hall, where the magistrates were sitting. Thus insulted, many of them rushed furiously into the hall ; a fierce struggle ensued. The magistrates were overpowered, some were killed, some fled, and some were thrown from the windows. The alarm spread, the people of the old religion rose to arms, the reformers fought against them as the enemies of the true faith. Ziska and his followers proclaimed themselves to be the servants of God, and their mission the reformation of His Church. But,

alas ! they commenced with the work of destruction rather than of reformation. Convents were attacked and plundered, monks were slaughtered, churches and monasteries were reduced to ruins ; images, organs, pictures, and all the instruments of idolatry, as they were called, were broken to pieces. The movement spread to other places, and the most desolating war followed, which continued for many, many years.

THE VICTORIES OF THE TABORITES.

Wenceslaus, King of Bohemia, died just at this time from a fit of apoplexy ; and as he left no heir, Bohemia fell by inheritance to his brother Sigismund. This change was the signal for open war on the part of the reformers. Sigismund was execrated as a traitor ; he had lured Huss to Constance ; he had abandoned him to the merciless foes, the enemies of the true faith. With the fury of religious fanaticism they demolished and defaced everything that bore the stamp of the Romish religion. The Emperor, as soon as possible, turned his special attention to his newly-inherited kingdom, but in place of a loyal welcome, his sovereignty was repudiated everywhere. The first crusading army was defeated by the victorious Ziska, and Sigismund was obliged to flee from the walls of Prague.

The followers of Ziska, being chiefly peasantry, had at first no other weapons of warfare but their agricultural implements, such as flails, clubs, pitchforks, and sythes ; so that Sigismund tauntingly designated them *threshers*. But he was soon made to feel their irresistible power, and the deadly wounds which they inflicted. Ziska taught them to load their implements with iron, and to range their rough carts in the battle-field in such a manner as to serve the purpose of a fortress, and of the ancient war-chariots. Martin V, now safe in Rome, heard from a distance of Ziska carrying fire and sword in all directions—massacring clergy and monks, burning and demolishing churches and convents, wrecking vengeance on the enemies of the true faith, and rooting out idolatry, as his Divine mission. A bull was issued at the Emperor's request, summoning the faithful to rise for the extirpation of Wycliffism, Hussism, and other heresies, and promising full indulgences to those who should take part in the enterprise either personally or by substitute. An army was collected from nearly all European countries ; which is variously estimated from one hundred thousand to one hundred and fifty thousand.

The spirit of the Hussites was strengthened on all such occasions by following the example of the hill of Tabor. They celebrated the Communion, swearing to spend their property and their blood to the utmost in defence of the Reformation so-called. The eucharistic chalice was not only represented on the banners

of the Taborites, but it was carried by their clergy at the head of their armies. Sigismund entered Bohemia at the head of the crusading hosts ; and determined to over-awe the rebellious into obedience, he burned without scruple the heretical teachers, and dragged others at the tails of his horses. But the hour of vengeance was near. Burning with indignation and religious enthusiasm, Ziska and his exasperated followers surprised the crusaders, and defeated them with great slaughter on a hill near Prague, which still bears his name. A second campaign saw the imperial army break up and, panic-stricken, flee before the renowned Ziska. A third and a fourth time the Emperor invaded the country at the head of vast forces—in one case, it is said, two hundred thousand men ; but each time the armies of the Church fled in confusion and disgrace before the invincible Taborites. In some instances they pursued and massacred, rather than routed, the enemies of God and of the true faith. The cruelty on both sides became excessive. The Taborites who chanced to fall into their enemies' hands were burned alive or sold as slaves. It was a war of revenge, of extermination ; and considered to be the holiest of duties to seize the property and spill the blood of God's enemies.

THE TOTAL DEFEAT OF THE PAPAL ARMY.

The broken-hearted Emperor was now accused of personal cowardice. A fifth crusade was resolved upon ; it was to be conducted by a cardinal. Preparations were made on a very great scale. Four large armies, amounting to about two hundred thousand men, crossed the Bohemian frontier. The force which the Taborites were able to muster amounted to thirty-one thousand. But the great Papal enterprise ended in the most disgraceful failure. The Germans, on coming in sight of Ziska with his wild war-chariots, were seized with a panic ; the Cardinal Julian alone conducted himself with courage. As he was advancing, he met his troops fleeing in abject terror. With crucifix in hand, he entreated them by the most solemn considerations of religion to rally, but in vain. He himself was constrained to fly ; he hardly escaped in the disguise of a common soldier, and left behind him the Papal bull, his cardinal's hat, and his Pontifical robes. These trophies were preserved for two centuries in the Church of Taas, and the captured banners were hung in the Tron Church in Prague. The Germans lost ten thousand men in this scandalous flight, besides many more who, in their retreat, were pursued and slain by the peasantry.

After carrying on the war for **thirteen years**, Ziska died. So greatly was he lamented by the Taborites, that they changed their name to Orphans. He was succeeded by **Procopius**, a name almost equally famous in the history of the Bohemian

war. But the Emperor was not disposed to continue so ruinous a contest. The retributive sword of Ziska had shorn him of his glory in the field, and frustrated his intentions of strengthening the Church. At the battle, or rather the slaughter, of **Aussig,** in 1426, the estimated loss of the Germans varies from nine to fifteen thousand men, while the Bohemians lost only fifty. And almost every outward vestige of the Romish religion had been swept away by the overwhelming flood. Churches were burnt with those who had taken refuge in them. Sylvius, the Roman historian, describes the churches and convents of Bohemia as more numerous, more magnificent, more highly adorned, than those of any other European country ; but, with few exceptions, all were demolished by the irresistible Taborites. More than five hundred churches and monasteries, with all their symbols of idolatry, were utterly destroyed. Such was the terrible retributive providence of God in His righteous dealings with the murderers of Huss and Jerome. The fearful visitation fell, and with the most withering severity, on both the Empire and the Church of Rome.

INTERNAL DIVISIONS.

The Hussites were not all of one mind as to a proposed treaty ; so they divided and formed two parties. The Calixtines—from Calix, a cup—the more moderate party, were disposed to waive all other subjects of complaint, provided the cup was restored to the laity, with permission to read the Word of God. The Taborites went much farther ; they adhered to the doctrines of Huss. Besides the celebration of the Lord's supper in both kinds, they contended for a complete reformation of the Church—the abolition of all Popish errors and ceremonies, and the establishment of a Scriptural system of doctrine and discipline.

Treachery, the unfailing resource of Rome, now saw her way clear to encompass the ruin of the Taborites. At the **Council of Basle,** Rokyzan, a bishop of the moderates and an eloquent man, was raised to the Archbishopric of Prague, that through his influence their ends might be gained. Four articles were agreed upon, called the Compact ; the obedient Calixtines were received back to the bosom of the Church ; but the privileges thus granted were soon afterwards annulled by the Pope. The Taborites, refusing to sign the Compact, were persecuted both by their old friends the Calixtines and the Catholics. But, in place of resisting by means of the carnal sword as in the days of Ziska and Procopius, they were led to see that faith in God, patience, perseverance in well-doing, believing prayer, were the proper arms of a Christian soldier. Rokyzan, who had still some kindly feeling for his old friends, obtained permission from the sovereign for the persecuted Taborites to withdraw to the lordship of

Lititz, on the confines of Moravia and Silesia, and there to establish a colony and regulate their own worship and discipline.

THE UNITED BRETHREN.

The first migration to Moravia was in 1451. Many of the citizens of Prague, with some of the nobility and learned men, and even some of the most pious of the Calixtines, joined them. They now assumed the name of Unitas Fratrum, or the *United Brethren.* This was the origin of a community which has continued to our own day. For the space of three years they enjoyed peace and liberty of conscience. The missionary spirit, by which the **Moravians** have always been so distinguished, displayed itself at that early period of their history. Now the *silver line* of the Saviour's love and their Christian zeal shines brightly. We could not see a trace of it when they were using carnal weapons for the defence of the truth of God. But no sooner did grace shine and their numbers increase, than the Romish priests eyed them with suspicion. Many souls were converted through their preaching, and congregations were formed in different parts of the country.

False accusations were circulated by the monks and friars—evil work which always suited their lying tongues. Sedition! was the cry. The Moravians are gathering numbers, said the monks, that they may renew the Taborite wars and seize the government. The King was alarmed; the unprincipled Rokyzan, afraid of losing his dignity in the Church, sided with the Catholics and influenced the Calixtines to turn against their brethren. They were denounced as incorrigible heretics. A bitter persecution broke out in all its fury on the missionary brethren. But the tares seem to have been separated from the wheat, for, unlike the days of Ziska, the new generation of the old Hussites determined to use no carnal weapon in defence of themselves or their religion. But the undaunted courage, which characterised their forefathers in the battle-field, was now displayed in their patient endurance of suffering for Christ's sake. Under their heaviest afflictions their energy never failed them. They were declared to have forfeited the common rights of subjects; their property was confiscated; they were even driven from their homes in the depth of winter, and compelled to wander in the open fields, where many perished with cold and hunger. All the prisons in Bohemia, especially in Prague, were crowded with the brethren. Various sorts of tortures were inflicted on the prisoners. Some had their hands and feet cut off; others were torn on the rack, burned alive, or barbarously murdered. These outrages continued for nearly twenty years with little abatement. But the death of the King in 1471, and the remorse of Rokyzan, the archbishop, brought a measure of relief. They

were no longer exposed to torture, but were driven out of the country.

The **United Brethren,** thus compelled to leave their homes in Lititz and other towns and villages, were obliged to live in forests and under the shelter of rocks, kindling their fires at night. And, singular as it may seem, they not only employed themselves in comforting each other, but in perfecting, what they called, *the constitution of the Church* ; forgetting, as many others have done, that God had perfected the constitution of the Church at Pentecost, and revealed it to us in His Holy Word. About seventy persons held a synod in the woods. Two resolutions were adopted which marked the future character of the Moravians : (1) That it was necessary to provide fit men for the ministerial office. (2) That they were to be chosen by lot like Matthias in Acts 1. 24-26. As a fundamental principle, the Brethren held, " that the Holy Scriptures are the only rule of faith and practice." At the same time a distinction was made between essentials and non-essentials, which leaves ample room for both the human will and the imagination. Essentials belong to the question of man's salvation ; non-essentials, to the externals of Christianity, such as rites, ceremonies, customs, and ecclesiastical regulations. And, further, these may be altered according to the best of human judgment, so that the great work of the Gospel may be promoted. This is human, not exclusively Moravian. It is, practically, the common saying : " The end justifies the means." But surely what God has revealed can never be non-essential, and what He has not revealed should never be introduced into His assembly.

The Brethren who had been banished from Moravia were kindly received in Hungary and Moldavia ; and were greatly distinguished by their missionary and other religious labours. About the year 1470, they published in the **Bohemian language** a translation of the whole Bible. This is the second translation upon record of the Bible into one of the European tongues. It passed through several editions rapidly, and in this way these interesting and devoted people prepared the way for Luther, Melanchthon, and Calvin.

THE CONNECTION OF THE WITNESSES.

Before leaving the Moravians, we may recall to the reader's mind the interesting fact of an early connection between them and the Waldenses, if not the Paulicians. Bohemia and Moravia continued in heathenism as late as the ninth century, when they received the Gospel from Eastern missionaries ; probably also from the Paulicians. Peter Waldo, in the twelfth century, driven from Lyons by persecution, found a refuge in Bohemia, where he laboured for twenty years with great success. In the fourteenth century his followers in Bohemia and Passau are

said to have amounted to eighty thousands, and throughout Europe to about eight hundred thousand. The court of Rome, irritated by the zeal and offended by the practices of the united Paulician, Waldensian, Bohemian, and Moravian Christians, resolved on their subjugation to the Roman yoke. Celibacy was enjoined, the cup forbidden to the laity, and the Church service performed in Latin. A struggle commenced, the Bohemians protested, Rome persecuted, and though many continued firm, others gradually declined, and lost much of their original purity of doctrine and simplicity of worship. So things continued for about three hundred years, when John Huss and Jerome of Prague again raised the standard of truth, witnessed against the corruptions of Rome, and kindled by the flames of their martyrdom a light which soon spread throughout Europe, and which continues to shine in our day, through the good providence of God. The mysterious way by which the light travelled we must now trace.*

* See Marsden's "Dictionary of Sects," "Moravians;" Waddington, vol. iii., p. 196; "Latin Christianity," vol. vi., p. 200; Milner, vol. iii., p. 336; J. C. Robertson, vol. iii., p. 284; Mosheim, vol. iii., p. 17; Edgar's "Variations of Popery," pp. 202, 533.

Chapter XXXII

The Capture of Constantinople

In the year 1453, after a close siege of fifty-three days, the capital of Eastern Christendom fell into the hands of the victorious Turks. The Emperor, who bore the name of the founder of Constantinople, displayed great valour in the siege. He threw off his purple and fought in the breach, till he, with the nobles that surrounded him, fell among the slain. This was the **last of the Constantines,** and the last Christian Emperor of Constantinople. Most of the inhabitants that remained were either sold as slaves or massacred ; and five thousand Turkish families were brought into the city as settlers. Destruction, violence, and profanity, far exceeding the power of description, followed. The ancient Church of St. Sophia was stripped of all the valuable offerings of ages, the images were broken to pieces, and, after having been the scene of gross profanations, was turned into a mosque. The treasures of Greek learning—to the extent, some say, of one hundred and twenty thousand manuscript books—were destroyed or dispersed. The conquest was complete, and **Mohammed II** at once transferred the seat of government to Constantinople.

But the unbounded ambition of the fierce Ottoman was far from being satisfied ; he contemplated nothing less than a conquest of all Christendom. And from his rapid and easy victories over many of the lesser Christian principalities in the East, it would appear that, if death had not relieved the world of such a tyrant, he might have pursued his path of conquest through the heart of Europe. What city, what kingdom, what power, would arrest the fierce invader ? All Europe trembled, especially Italy. The death of Nicholas V was hastened, it is said, by the news of the capture of Constantinople. Grief and fear broke the old man's heart. But after overturning empires, kingdoms, and cities without number, Mohammed II died, at the age of fifty, from internal pains, supposed to be the effects of poison.

Tidings of these heavy calamities in the East spread a deep gloom over all the West. But that which threatened to arrest the progress of civilisation and the spread of Christianity was overruled by an all-wise and good Providence for the furtherance of both in a marvellous way. The falling of Constantinople into the hands of the infidels drove many learned Greeks into Italy, and from Italy into many other countries in Europe. It so

happened, just at this time, that the reigning Pope, **Nicholas V,** was distinguished by his love of literature, which he greatly promoted by his position and his wealth. The refugees had brought such books with them as they had been able to rescue from the ruins of their fallen empire. The study of Greek was revived by such means and became exceedingly popular. Among these students it pleased God to raise up men of highly cultivated minds and devout hearts, who did much in preparing the way for the great Reformation.

INVENTION OF PRINTING—IMPROVEMENT OF PAPER.

Just at this period the Lord was making "all things work together for good" in a most remarkable way. Two silent agents of immense influence and power were ordained to precede the living voices of His Gospel preachers—the invention of **printing** and the manufacture of **paper**. These harmonious inventions were brought to great perfection during the latter half of the fifteenth century, for which we can lift up our hearts in praise and thanksgiving to God.

We have now reached a turning point in our history; and not only in the history of the Church, but of civilisation, of the social condition of the European states, and of the human family. It is well to pause on such an eminence and look around us for a moment. We see a Divine hand for the good of all gathering things together, though apparently unconnected. The falling of an empire, the flight of a few Greeks, with their literary treasures, the awakening of the long dormant mind of the western world, the invention of printing from movable types, and the discovery of making fine white paper from linen rags. Incongruous as "linen rags" may sound with the literature of the Greeks, and the skill of Gutenberg, both would have proved of little avail without the improved paper. Means, the most insignificant in man's account, when used of God, are all sufficient. By miraculous power, a dry rod in the hand of Moses shakes Egypt from centre to circumference, divides the Red Sea, and gives living water from the flinty rock; a smooth pebble from the brook, or an empty ram's horn, accomplishes great deliverances in Israel. The power is of God, and faith looks only to Him.

It is a deeply interesting fact to the Christian, that the first complete book which Gutenberg printed with his cut metal types was a folio edition of the Bible in the **Latin vulgate,** consisting of six hundred and forty-one leaves. Hallam, in his Literary History beautifully observes: "It is a very striking circumstance, that the high minded inventors of the great art tried at the very outset so bold a flight as the printing an entire Bible, and executed it with great success.... We may see in imagination this venerable and splendid volume leading up the crowded

myriads of its followers, and imploring, as it were, a blessing on the new art, by dedicating its firstfruits to the service of heaven."*

Although it scarcely falls within the line of our "Short Papers" even briefly to sketch the history of the great discovery, yet for the sake of some of our readers who may not have such histories at hand we must mention a few particulars, as it was one of the most powerful agents of the Reformation.

From an early period the mode of printing from blocks of wood had been practised. Sometimes the engravings, or impressions, were accompanied by a few lines of letters cut in the block. Gradually these were extended to a few leaves and called block-books. An ingenius blacksmith, it is said, invented in the eleventh century separate letters made of wood. The celebrated **John Gutenberg,** who was born at a village near Mentz, in the year 1397, substituted *metal* for the wooden letters; his associate, Schoeffer, cut the characters in a matrix, after which the types were cast, and thus completed the art of printing as it now remains.

Parchment, preparations of straw, the bark of trees, papyrus, and cotton had sufficed for the printer and transcriber till the fourteenth century. But these preparations would have been utterly inadequate to supply the demand of the new process. Happily, however, the discovery of making paper from rags coincided with the discovery of letterpress printing. The **first paper-mill** in England was erected at Dartmouth, by a German named Spielmann, in 1588, who was knighted by Queen Elizabeth.

THE FIRST PRINTED BIBLE.

All historians seem to agree, that Gutenberg, having spent nearly ten years in bringing his experiments to perfection, had so impoverished himself that he found it necessary to invite some capitalist to join him. **John Faust,** the wealthy goldsmith of Mentz, to whom he made known his secret, agreed to go into partnership with him, and to supply the means for carrying out the design. But it does not appear that Gutenberg and his associates, Schoeffer and Faust, were actuated by any loftier motive in executing this glorious work, than that of realising a large sum of money by the enterprise. The letters were such an exact imitation of the best copyists, that they intended to pass them off as fine manuscript copies, and thus to obtain the usual high prices. Those employed in the work were bound to the strictest secrecy. The first edition appears to have been sold at manuscript prices without the secret having transpired. A second edition was brought out about 1462, when John Faust went to Paris with a number of copies. He sold one to the king for seven hundred crowns, and another to the archbishop for

* "Literature of Europe," vol. i., p. 153.

four hundred crowns. The prelate, delighted with such a beautiful copy at so low a price, showed it to the king. His majesty produced his, for which he had paid nearly double the money; but what was their astonishment on finding they were identical even in the most minute strokes and dots. They became alarmed, and concluded they must be produced by magic, and the capital letters being in red ink, they supposed that it was blood, and no longer doubted that he was in league with the Devil and assisted by him in his magical art.

Information was forthwith given to the police against John Faust. His lodgings were searched, and his Bibles seized. Other copies which he had sold were collected and compared; and finding they were all precisely alike, he was pronounced a **magician**. The king ordered him to be thrown into prison, and he would soon have been thrown into the flames, but he saved himself by confessing to the deceit, and by making a full revelation of the secret of his art. The mystery was now revealed, the workmen were no longer bound to secrecy, printers were dispersed abroad, carrying the secret of their art wherever they found a welcome, and the sounds of printing presses were soon heard in many lands. About 1474 the art was introduced into England by **William Caxton**; and in 1508 it was introduced into Scotland by Walter Chepman.

Before the days of printing, many valuable books existed in manuscript, and seminaries of learning flourished in all civilised countries, but knowledge was necessarily confined to a comparatively small number of people. The manuscripts were so scarce and dear that they could only be purchased by kings and nobles, by collegiate and ecclesiastical establishments. "A copy of the Bible cost from forty to fifty pounds for the writing only, for it took an expert copyist about ten months' labour to make one." Although several other books issued from the new presses, the Latin Bible was the favourite book with all the printers. They usually commenced operations, wherever they went, by issuing an edition of the Latin Bible. It was most in demand, and brought high prices. In this way Latin Bibles multiplied rapidly. Translators now began their work; and by individual reformers in different countries, the Word of God was translated into various languages in the course of a few years. "Thus an Italian version appeared in 1474, a Bohemian in 1475, a Dutch in 1477, a French in 1477, and a Spanish in 1478; as if heralding the approach of the coming Reformation."

ROME'S OPPOSITION TO THE BIBLE.

But, as usual, the great enemies of truth and light and liberty took the alarm. The Archbishop of Mentz placed the printers of the city under strict censorship. Pope Alexander VI issued

a Bull prohibiting the printers of Mentz, Cologne, Treves, and Magdeburg from publishing any books without the express licence of their archbishops. Finding that the reading of the Bible was extending, the priests began to preach against it from their pulpits. "They had found out," said a French monk, "a new language called Greek : we must carefully guard ourselves against it. That language will be the mother of all sorts of heresies. I see in the hands of a great number of persons a book written in this language called, '**The New Testament**;' it is a book full of brambles, with vipers in them. As to the Hebrew, whoever learns that becomes a Jew at once." Bibles and Testaments were seized wherever found, and burnt ; but more Bibles and Testaments seemed to rise as if by magic from their ashes. The printers also were seized and burnt. "We must root out printing, or printing will root out us," said the Vicar of Croydon in a sermon preached at Paul's Cross. And the university of Paris, panic-stricken, declared before the Parliament : "There is an end of religion if the study of Greek and Hebrew is permitted."

The great success of the new translations spread alarm throughout the Romish Church. She trembled for the supremacy of her own favourite Vulgate. The fears of the priests and monks were increased when they saw the people reading the Scriptures in their own mother tongue, and observed a growing disposition to call in question the value of attending mass, and the authority of the priesthood. Instead of saying their prayers through the priests in Latin, they began to pray to God direct in their native tongue. The clergy, finding their revenues diminishing, appealed to the Sorbonne, the most renowned theological school in Europe. The Sorbonne called upon Parliament to interfere with a strong hand. *War was immediately proclaimed against books, and the printers of them.* Printers who were convicted of having printed Bibles were burnt. In the year 1534, about twenty men and one woman were burnt alive in Paris. In 1535 the Sorbonne obtained an ordinance from the King for the suppression of printing. "But it was too late," as an able writer observes ; "the art was now full born, and could no more be suppressed than light, or air, or life. Books had become a public necessity, and supplied a great public want ; and every year saw them multiplying more abundantly." *

While Rome was thus thundering her awful prohibitions against the liberty of thought, and lengthening her arm to persecute wherever the Bible had penetrated and found followers, at least all over France, God was hastening by means of His own Word and the printing press, that mighty revolution which was so soon to change the destinies of both Church and State. But had the

* "History of the Huguenots," by Samuel Smiles, pp. 1-23.

Catholics succeeded in their wicked designs, we should still have been groping our way amidst the thick darkness of the middle ages. Rome has ever been hostile to new inventions and improvements; especially if they tended to the diffusion of knowledge, the promotion of civilisation, the diminishing of the distance between the clergy and the laity, or in any way weakening the power of the priesthood. Ignorance, slavery, superstition, blind subjection to priestcraft, are the chief elements of her existence. Of all inventions, none has exercised a greater influence on society than that of printing; and not only so, it is the preserver of all other inventions. Thus no thanks are due to the Catholics for our modern civilisation, and for the privileges of our civil and religious liberties. But the living God is above all the hostility of Rome, and will accomplish all the purposes of His grace.

The darkness of the middle ages is rapidly passing away. The **rising sun of the Reformation** will ere long dispel the gloom of Jezebel's long reign of a thousand years. Her boasted universal supremacy is no more, and will never again return. The pillars of her strength are already shaken, and many causes are combining to hasten her complete overthrow. With these causes we shall soon become more familiar.

THE IMMEDIATE PRECURSORS OF LUTHER.

We have traced with some care the chain of witnesses from the earliest period of the Church's history till the beginning of the sixteenth century; we have only further to notice a few names which connect the noble line with the name and testimony of the great Reformer. There is no missing link in the Divine chain. Of these the most noted were Jerome Savonarola, John of Wesalia, and John Wessilus of Groningen.

Jerome Savonarola, the descendant of an illustrous family, was born in 1452, at Ferrara. He was in early life the subject of deep religious feelings, and supposing he had been favoured with heavenly visions as to his mission, he retired from the world and entered the Dominican order at the age of twenty-one. He devoted himself to the study of the Holy Scriptures, with continual prayers, fastings, and mortifications. He appears to have been greatly interested in the prophetic Scriptures, especially in such portions as the Apocalypse, which he was fond of expounding, and confidently maintained that the threatened judgments were near at hand. Having spent seven years in the Dominican convent of Bologna, he was removed by his superiors to St. Mark's at Florence. After some years he was elected prior, when he introduced a thorough reformation, and a return to the earlier simplicity of food and dress.

Savonarola was unequalled in his power as a preacher, but like many others at that time, he combined the politician's with

the preacher's character. Reform was his one theme—reform and repentance he proclaimed as with the voice of a prophet. Reform in the discipline of the Church, in the luxury and worldliness of the priesthood, and in the morals of the whole community. The Italians being peculiarly sensitive to all appeals respecting their rights as citizens, the vast cathedral of Florence was soon crowded by multitudes who eagerly hung on his words. His preaching assumed the form of prophecy, or of one authorised to speak in the name of God ; although it does not appear that his predictions were more than the result of a firm conviction in the government of God and in the fulfilment of prophecy according to the principles revealed in the Holy Scriptures. But though he was more or less mixed up with the political factions in Italy, he was an earnest Christian and a true reformer. He unsparingly denounced the usurpation of Lorenzo de' Medici, the despotism of the aristocracy, and the sins of the prelates and clergy ; he mourned over the cold indifference to spiritual things which marked the character of the age. "The Church had once," he said, "her golden priests, and wooden chalices ; but now the chalices were gold and the priests wooden—that the outward splendour of religion had been hurtful to spirituality." So resistless was his eloquence, which partook of a prophetic character, as if he were the messenger of an offended God whose vengeance was already impending over Italy, that the multitudes believed in his heavenly mission. The people were so controlled by his appeals that the moral effect of his warnings was speedily perceptible throughout the city. "By the modesty of their dress," says Sismondi, "their discourse, their countenance, the Florentines gave evidence that they had embraced the reform of Savonarola."

But his course was watched with the evil eye of Jezebel. Such a fearless witness was not fit to live, especially in Italy. The light must be quenched ; but how to accomplish it was the difficulty, as many of the citizens were ready to pass through the flames as the substitutes of Savonarola. The Church of Rome, backed by the partisans of the Medici, addressed herself to this fiendish work. As usual, her plans were founded on treachery and ended in persecution. The deceitful Alexander VI invited Savonarola in courteous language to visit him at Rome, that he might confer with him on the subject of his prophetic gifts. But he knew the Pope was not to be trusted, notwithstanding his flattering words, and refused to obey. He next proposed to raise him to the cardinalate in the hope of getting him under his power. But Savonarola indignantly declared from the pulpit that he would have no other red hat than one dyed with the blood of martyrdom. The mask was now thrown off ; blandishments were exchanged for threatenings and excommuni-

cations. He was denounced as a "*sower of false doctrine.*" His destruction was determined. The Franciscans, already jealous of the great fame of a Dominican, entered the conspiracy. An account of their plottings would be uninteresting to the reader; but they succeeded in diverting the people, and in accomplishing the downfall of their rival.

In the year 1498, Savonarola and his two friends, Dominic and Silvester, were seized, imprisoned, and tortured. The nervous system of the great preacher, both from his labours and his ascetic exercises, had become so sensitive that he was unable to bear the agonies which were inflicted on him. "When I am in torture," he said, "I lose myself, I am mad. That only is true which I say without torture." In the meantime, two legates arrived from Rome with the sentence of condemnation from Alexander. The prisoners were taken the following day to the place of the signory, and, after the usual ceremony of degradation, were first hanged and then burnt. Their ashes were carefully collected by the Franciscans, and cast into the Arno. Yet relics of Savonarola were preserved with veneration among his many friends and followers.

REFLECTIONS ON THE LIFE OF SAVONAROLA.

The prior of St. Mark's is spoken of in history as the most faithful public witness for Christ that had yet appeared in Italy; but there was much in his course that was contrary to the spirit and calling of a true Christian, especially in his mixing up politics with religion. It is said that he thought to combine the characters of Jeremiah and Demosthenes—to weep over sin and denounce God's judgments like the one, and to stir up the people to struggle for their liberties like the other. This was his mistake, owing to his ignorance of the teaching of the New Testament; and that which led to his dishonour and his downfall. But great allowance must be made for his education, circumstances, and the spirit of the age. Many of the later reformers fell into the same snare. They had not learnt, in those revolutionary times, that the calling of the Christian is a heavenly one—that while the Jew was blessed with all temporal mercies in a pleasant land, the Christian is blessed with all spiritual blessings in heavenly places in Christ. They did not see that the purpose of God in the present period is to gather out from among the nations a people for His Name by the preaching of the Gospel (Acts 15). But how few even in the present day see that the Church of God is an *out-calling*, and so ought to walk in separation from the world!

The highest good that the preacher can accomplish for his fellow-men is to gather them out of the world to the rejected Saviour. But such preachers are neither popular nor under-

stood, even in the last quarter of the nineteenth century. Indeed, we may raise the question : Is the state of "the Churches" generally, as regards politics, in advance of the ideas of Savonarola ? He interfered in the direction of public affairs in order that the Republic of Florence might be to the honour of his Lord and Master. His motives were doubtless good, but he was entirely mistaken in thinking he could unite heavenly and earthly things. His grand idea is seen in the fact that one of the coins struck whilst Florence was under his influence bore the inscription, "*Christ our king.*" But not only did this remarkable man desire to see a great Reformation in both Church and State, he also longed for the salvation of souls, while his own heart rejoiced in the glorious doctrine of justification by faith alone.

The following extract from his meditations on Psalm 31 during his imprisonment will give the reader an idea of his inmost thoughts as guided by the Holy Spirit of God. "No man can boast of himself ; and if, in the presence of God, the question were put to every justified sinner, 'Have you been saved by your own strength ?' all would with one voice exclaim, 'Not unto us, O Lord, but unto Thy Name be the glory !' Therefore, O God, I seek Thy mercy, and I bring Thee not my own righteousness : the moment Thou justifiest me by Thy grace, Thy righteousness belongs to me ; for grace is the righteousness of God. So long, O man, as thou believest not, thou art, because of sin, deprived of grace. O God, save me by Thy righteousness, that is, by Thy Son, who alone was found righteous before thee." As taught of God, with what holy and lofty thoughts his mind must have been filled from the study, in a prison, of that most beautiful Psalm of sorrow and triumphant praise ! *

> "Ah ! fairest city, who hast seen expire
> Three chosen martyrs in devouring fire,
> Who, linked together, amidst scorn and pain,
> In dying smiled, and proved 'to die is gain :'
> Thy rich and honoured stream, whose bosom wide
> Doth those blest ashes, as its treasure hide,
> Shall see the tyrant-chief at last expire.
> And every infidel destroyed by fire ;
> Shall see all vice and evil come to naught,
> And hail new light from heavenly regions brought."

John of Wesalia, a doctor of divinity at Erfurt, was distinguished for his boldness, energy, and opposition to Rome. He incurred the indignation of the monastic orders by preaching that men are saved by grace through faith, and not by a monastic life ; that a man is eternally safe who believes in Christ though all the priests in the world should condemn and excommunicate

* J. C. Robertson, vol. iv., p. 548 ; Waddington, vol. iii., p. 383 ; "Universal History," Bagster & Sons, London, vol. vi., p. 173.

him. He pronounced indulgences, the holy oil, and pilgrimages, to be of no avail; that the Pope, bishops, and priests were not instruments of salvation. He was what would now be called *strictly Calvinistic* in his views of grace. The Archbishop of Mentz ordered his imprisonment. He was brought to trial before a council of priests in the year 1479, and notwithstanding his age, ill health, and feebleness, he was subjected to a puzzling examination of his opinions, which lasted five successive days. Some things he explained, some he disavowed, and some he retracted; but his judges had no mercy, though he was bending beneath the weight of years. He was condemned to perpetual penance by the Holy Inquisition, and soon perished in its dungeons.

John Wesselus, a native of Groningen, in Holland, was undoubtedly the most remarkable of the immediate forerunners of the Reformation. He was one of the most learned men of the fifteenth century. But happily for John Wesselus himself, and for thousands more, his light was not only that of human learning —he was taught of God. The light of the glorious Gospel of the grace of God burned brightly in his heart, in his words, in his life. He was doctor in divinity successively at Cologne, Louvain, Heidelberg, and Groningen; and he boldly exposed many of the evil doctrines and flagrant abuses of the Church of Rome. He was also for some years professor of Hebrew at the University of Paris, and even there he spoke out boldly. "All satisfaction for sin," he declared, "made by men is blasphemy against Christ." But the following testimony of Luther to the writings of John Wesselus makes it unnecessary to particularise his opinions.

About thirty years after the death of Wesselus, Luther was preaching the same doctrines which his forerunner had committed to writing, though he had not then seen any of his works. They had been led and taught by the same Holy Spirit, and instructed out of the same Holy Book, and fitted for the same work. The great reformer was so astonished and delighted when he first met with some of the writings of Wesselus, that he wrote a preface for a printed edition of his works in 1522, in which he says: "By the wonderful providence of God I have been compelled to become a public man, and to fight battles with those monsters of indulgences and Papal decrees. All along I suppose myself to stand alone; yet have I preserved so much animation in the contest, as to be everywhere accused of heat and violence, and of hitting hard. However, the truth is, I have earnestly wished to have done with these followers of Baal among whom my lot is cast, and to live quietly in some corner, for I have utterly despaired of making any impression on these brazen foreheads and iron necks of impiety. But,

behold, in this state of mind, I am told that even in these days there is in secret a remnant of the people of God. Nay, I am not only told so, but I rejoice to see a proof of it. Here is a new publication by Wesselus, of Groningen, a man of an admirable genius, and of an uncommonly enlarged mind. It is very plain he was taught of God, as Isaiah prophesied that Christians should be : and as in my own case, so with him, it cannot be supposed that he received his doctrines from men. If I had read his works before, my enemies might have supposed that I had learnt everything from Wesselus, such a perfect coincidence there is in our opinions. As to myself, I derive not only pleasure but strength and courage from this publication. It is now impossible for me to doubt whether I am right in the points which I have inculcated, when I see so entire an agreement in sentiment, and almost the same words used by this eminent person, who lived in a different age, in a distant country, and in circumstances very unlike my own. I am surprised that this excellent Christian writer should be so little known. The reason may be that he lived without blood and contention, for this is the only thing in which he differs from me."

We will only further relate an anecdote respecting Wesselus, which proves how thoroughly the spirit of the Gospel had satisfied and filled his heart, and raised him above the most powerful temptation.

When Sixtus IV was raised to the Pontifical throne, not forgetful of an acquaintance which he had formed with Wesselus in France, he offered to grant him any request he would make. The pious Dutchman gravely replied : " May he who is regarded as the supreme shepherd of the Church on earth so act as that, when the Chief Shepherd shall appear, he may hear Him say, 'Well done, good and faithful servant.' " " That must be my care," replied Sixtus ; " but do *you* ask something for yourself." " Give me, then," said Wesselus, " out of the Vatican Library a Greek and a Hebrew Bible." " You shall have them," replied the Pope ; " but is not this folly ? Why do you not ask for a bishopric, or something of that sort ? " " Because," said the unambitious professor, " I do not desire such things."

He was allowed to end his days in peace in the year 1489, having reached the age of seventy. His last words were : " God be praised ! all I know is Jesus Christ and Him crucified." *

Ulric von Hutten, a German knight, having a reforming zeal, and being a great admirer of Luther, has found a place in most of the histories. Descended from an ancient family, and of brilliant talents, he distinguished himself in early life as a soldier, and afterwards as a literary adventurer, but greatly wanting, we fear, in moral weight. He published an acrimonious invective

* Milner, vol. iii., p. 421.

against Erasmus, and a most effective satire against the court and tyranny of Rome. "Few books," says Hallam, "have been more eagerly received than Hutten's epistles at their first appearance in 1516." But he was not long spared, either to unveil the abuses of Popery, or advocate the doctrines of the Reformation. He died in 1523 at the early age of thirty-five. "He forms the link," says D'Aubigné, "between the knights and the men of letters." He was present at the siege of Padua, in 1513, and his powerful book against Popery appeared in 1516.

Reuchlin and Erasmus—these famous names—may be conveniently and appropriately introduced here. Although not reformers, they contributed much to the success of the Reformation. They were called "Humanists"—men eminent for human learning. The revival of literature, but especially the critical study of the languages in which the Holy Scriptures were written—Hebrew, Greek, and Latin—rendered the highest service to the first reformers. As in the days of Josiah, Ezra, and Nehemiah, the great Reformation was an immediate connection with the recovery and study of the written Word of God. The Bible, which had lain so long silent in manuscript beneath the dust of old libraries, was now printed, and laid before the people in their own tongue. This was light from God, and that which armed the reformers with invincible power. Down to the days of Reuchlin and Erasmus the Vulgate was the *received text*. Greek and Hebrew were almost unknown in the West.

Reuchlin studied at the University of Paris. Happily for him, the celebrated Wesselus was then teaching Hebrew at that renowned school of theology. There he received, not only the first rudiments of the language, but a knowledge of the Gospel of the grace of God. He also studied Greek, and learned to speak Latin with great purity. At the early age of twenty he began to teach philosophy, Greek, and Latin, at Basle; "and," says D'Aubigné, "what then passed for a miracle, a German was heard speaking Greek." He afterwards settled at Wittimberg—the cradle of the Reformation—instructed the young Melanchthon in Hebrew and prepared for publication the first Hebrew and German grammar and lexicon. Who can estimate all that the Reformation owes to Reuchlin, though he remained in the communion of the Romish Church!

Erasmus, who was about twelve years younger than Reuchlin, pursued the same line of study, but with still higher powers and greater celebrity. From about 1500 to 1518, when Luther rose into notice, Erasmus was the most distinguished literary person in Christendom. He was born at Rotterdam, in 1465; was left an orphan at the age of thirteen; was robbed by his guardians, who, to cover their dishonesty, persuaded him to enter a monastery. In 1492, he was ordained a priest, but he always

entertained the greatest dislike for a monastic life, and embraced the first opportunity to regain his liberty. After leaving the Augustinian convent at Stein, he went to pursue his favourite studies at the University of Paris.

With the most indefatigable industry he devoted himself entirely to literature, and soon acquired a great reputation among the learned. The society of the poor student was courted by the varied talent of the time. Lord Mountjoy, whom he met as a pupil at Paris, invited him to England. His first visit to this country, in 1498, was followed by several others, down to the year 1515, during which he became acquainted with many eminent men, received many honours, formed some warm friendships, and spent most of his brightest days. He resided at both the Universities, and, during his third and longest visit, was professor of Greek at Cambridge. All acknowledged his supremacy in the world of letters, and for a long time he reigned without a rival. But our object at present is rather to inquire, "What was his influence on the Reformation?"

Under the gracious, guiding hand of Him who sees the end from the beginning, Erasmus bent all his great mental powers, and all his laborious studies to the preparation of a critical edition of the Greek Testament. This work appeared at Basle in 1516, one year before the Reformation, accompanied by a Latin translation, in which he corrected the errors of the Vulgate. This was daring work in those days. There was a great outcry from many quarters against this dangerous novelty. "His New Testament was attacked," says Robertson; "why should the language of the schismatic Greeks interfere with the sacred and traditional Latin? How could any improvement be made on the Vulgate translation? There was a college at Cambridge, especially proud of its theological character, which would not admit a copy within its gates. But the editor was able to shelter himself under the name of Pope Leo, who had accepted the dedication of the volume."

To question the fidelity of the Vulgate, was a crime of the greatest magnitude in the eyes of the Roman Catholic Church. The Vulgate could no longer be of absolute exclusive authority; the Greek was its superior not only in antiquity, but yet more as the original text. At this time Erasmus stood at the head of scholars and men of letters. He was patronised by the Pope, many prelates, and by the chief princes of Europe. Sheltered behind such an ample shield, he was perfectly secure, and, knowing this, fearlessly went on with his great work.*

* Although the Greek New Testament of Erasmus, published at Basle in 1516, was the first edition in which the original text of the Holy Scriptures was given to the learned world, it was not the first either as to design or printing. The Complutensian New Testament was finished in January, 1514; but as it awaited the completion of the Bible and the license of the Pope, it was not published until 1522. Thus it was that the edition of Erasmus appeared six years earlier than the Complutensian, though printed two years later.

To give the reader some idea of the popularity of this singularly great, yet in some respects weak man, we may just notice that his book, entitled "Praise of Folly," went through twenty-seven editions during his lifetime; and his "Colloquies" were so eagerly received that in one year twenty-four thousand copies were sold. In these books he assailed with great power, and the most bitter satire, the inconsistencies of the monks—their intrusiveness and rapacity in connection with deathbeds, wills, and funerals—and thus indirectly served the cause of the Reformation.*

Erasmus had many tempting offers as to pensions and promotion, but his love for his learned labours led him to prefer comparative poverty with perfect liberty. In 1516 he took up his abode at Basle, where his works were printed by Froben, and he diligently laboured in correcting proofs, and otherwise assisting that learned printer with his fine editions of classical works.

But the great work for which he seems to have been specially fitted by God was his **Greek New Testament.** "Erasmus," says D'Aubigné, "thus did for the New Testament what Reuchlin had done for the Old. Henceforward divines were able to read the Word of God in the original languages, and at a later period to recognise the purity of the reformed doctrines. The New Testament of Erasmus gave out a bright flash of light. His paraphrases on the epistles, and on the Gospels of St. Matthew and St. John; his editions of Cyprian and Jerome; his translations of Origen, Athanasius, and Chrysostom; his "Principles of True Theology," his "Preacher," and his commentaries on various Psalms, contributed powerfully to diffuse a taste for the Word of God, and for pure theology. The result of his labours even went beyond his intentions. Reuchlin and Erasmus gave the Bible to the learned; Luther gave it to the people."†

The chain of witnesses was now complete. Wesselus, Reuchlin, Erasmus, and Luther were linked together. The

This was the first Polyglot Bible, and since known as the Complutensian; Paris and London Polyglots followed. This great work appears to have been the original conception of the celebrated Cardinal Ximenes, of Toledo, and executed at his expense. With a view to this he collected manuscripts, employed a number of scholars as editors, and imported type-cutters from Germany. The outlay is stated to have exceeded twenty-three thousand pounds—a vast sum in those days—but the yearly income of the Primate was four times that amount.

The Complutensian Polyglot, in six volumes folio, was completed at Alcalá, in Spain, in 1517, but the preparations were begun as early as 1502. These six noble volumes contain the Old Testament in Hebrew, Latin, and Greek; and the New Testament in Greek and Latin, with a Hebrew dictionary, and other supplementary matter.

John Froben, an enterprising publisher at Basle, having heard of this forthcoming Bible, and eager to forestall it, urged Erasmus to undertake immediately an edition of the New Testament. The first was very faulty, as Froben's haste gave him little leisure to do his work. It passed through three editions in six years; on the fourth and fifth editions Erasmus bestowed more pains, having seen the Complutensian in 1522.—See an able and useful book, entitled, "A Plain Introduction to the Criticism of the New Testament," by Dr. Scrivener (George Bell & Sons, London). See also some interesting particulars in J. C. Robertson's "Church History," viol. iv., p. 664.

* J. C. Robertson, vol. iv., p. 673.

† D'Aubigné, vol. i., p. 166.

silver line of God's grace is thus traceable from the days of the apostles, or at least from the days of Constantine, to the time of Luther. There was no room for a separate line of witnesses till after the union of Church and State. The existence and testimony of the Waldenses have been traced back to these early times. Then we have witnesses for Christ in the Paulicians, the Albigenses, the Wycliffites, the Bohemians, the Moravians, or United Brethren ; Savonarola, and other individual Protestants in the different nations of Europe.

And now, having pursued our dreary way through the dark ages till *the beginning of the sixteenth century*, we find the Bible in the original languages, and the printing press standing ready to multiply copies by thousands and tens of thousands, and broadcast them over the face of Christendom.

The way was thus prepared for the great change which was at hand. The unblushing wickedness of Rome, the blood of God's martyred saints, and the vast multitude of souls who were perishing for lack of knowledge, all cried aloud for the hand that would shorten the dominion of the Papacy, and rescue the nations of Europe from the darkness and bondage of a thousand years. This was now to be done, but not by mere scholarship, or by men of polite literature, but by faith in the Word of God, through the power of the Holy Spirit.

CHAPTER XXXIII

The Reformation in Germany

THE exclusive dominion of the Latin or Roman Church was now drawing to a close. Since the Pontificate of Gregory the Great, or for nearly a thousand years, she had reigned supreme. But the oppressed Teuton was now raising the arm of rebellion against the tyranny of the Roman. The warfare ended in a great secession of the Teutons, in wresting from the Papacy a large portion of her dominions, and in the breaking up of Christendom, like the ship in which Paul sailed to Rome.

It has been our desire to present a fair view of the real character and ways of the Church of Rome during the long period of her dominion, and He must judge whether the history warrants our interpretation of the Epistle to Thyatira. Our own convictions are a thousandfold deeper at the close than they were at the commencement of the history, that we have given a true interpretation, and made a just application of the words of the Lord to the Church in Thyatira. We have only Him to serve and Him to please in writing this history. For no one else would we have waded through these thousand years. The amount that we write bears little proportion to the amount that must be read in order to be satisfied as to the truthfulness of what is written. Besides, a very large proportion of Papal history is wholly unfit for our pages, or to come before the eye of civilised people, far less the eye of the Christian. Her adulteries and abominations are better left on the page that was written in a ruder age, as they will surely be consigned to a place peculiarly dark in the regions of Hell.

For nearly three hundred years, by means of schools, new translations, versions, printing-presses, and the intolerance of the Church, the Lord had been preparing the way for the accomplishment of His purpose; and, this being done, the feeblest instrument was sufficient to bring all these agencies into full action. "When the train is properly laid, an accidental spark may cause the explosion." To effect great results by small means is the way of Divine providence, that the power may be seen to be of God, and not of man. An occasion was furnished, and Luther was the prepared instrument to reap the glorious harvest of the great Reformation. But much labour was bestowed on the field by many noble hearts and hands which were not privileged to gather its fruits, at least in this world. These may have been the *agents*, Luther was the *instrument*.

During these thousand years we have been chiefly engaged

with Popery and the witnesses for Christ ; now it must be Popery and Protestantism. But if the reader would rightly understand the difference between the two, he must carefully consider what Popery was down to the time of Luther's appearance.

POPERY AND MANKIND.

Comparatively few in our peaceful time have any idea of the real nature and the comprehensive grasp of Popery. During the long period of the middle ages it was fully developed ; but its *nature* remains unchanged until the present hour. Times and circumstances have changed, not Popery. The clergy, including the monks and friars, were a distinct class, and stood entirely apart from the rest of mankind. A broad, deep, impassable line separated the two communities—the clergy and the laity. The lives, the laws, the property, the rights, and the social duties of the one were not only different from those of the other, but often antagonistic.

Education, such as it was, had become the exclusive privilege of the clergy. Whoever had any desire for knowledge could neither obtain nor employ it but in connection with the churchman or the monastery. The younger sons of the nobility, and even of royalty, as the Church became wealthy and powerful, joined the clerical community. By this means the most famous names in the land were found among the clergy, and the Church and State were thus welded together. The universities, the schools, the whole domains of the human intellect, were in their possession. The other great division of mankind—the laity—were kept in utter darkness and ignorance. And woe betide the man who would venture to point out some new road to intelligence, freedom, and power. The faintest glimmer of light was instantly extinguished, and the discovery denounced as magical and forbidden.

The priests alone could read, write, draw up State papers, or treaties, and frame laws. From the sacredness of their character, and their intellectual superiority, they were admitted to the courts and the councils of kings ; they were the negotiators and the ambassadors of sovereigns. But royal secrets and compacts were not all they knew ; the confessional laid open the whole heart of every one, from the highest to the lowest, before the eye of the priesthood. No act was beyond their cognizance, hardly any thought or intention was secret. There might be smothered murmurs at the avarice, pride, and licentiousness of the priest, still he was a priest, a bishop, a Pope ; his sacraments lost not their efficacy, his verdict of condemnation or absolution was equally valid. Those who openly doubted the power of the clergy in such matters were heretics, outcasts, prescribed, only fit fuel for the flames both now and evermore.

The Pope, as was universally believed, combined in his own person all the attributes of supreme power in matters of religion and of government. The power of emperors and kings was derived, his was original. He was armed with Divine authority to depose monarchs, to absolve subjects from their allegiance and from every other obligation; and, if needful, to dissolve all the bonds of society. But, above all, he was empowered to maintain the integrity of the faith as transmitted to him from his predecessors or defined by himself as head of the Church; to repress dissent in every shape; to persecute to extermination all who ventured to dispute this supreme prerogative, as rebels and traitors to God and His Church; and at any time to call upon the secular government, without compensation, to lavish life and money, labour and feeling, to enable him to maintain the integrity of the spiritual empire.*

THE STATE OF THE CHURCH AT THE BEGINNING OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Such, as we have now described, was the unlimited power of the Romish priesthood at the beginning of this century. No man was independent of the priest. He was lord of the human conscience. His power was absolute both over body and soul, over time and eternity. None could afford to incur his displeasure or to lie under his censure. Excommunication cut the man off, whatever his rank or station, from the Church, beyond whose pale there was no possibility of salvation.

It is not a little remarkable that just at this time no danger seemed to threaten this towering, monstrous system of iniquity. From the Vatican down to the smallest congregation the sovereignty and tranquillity of the Church appeared to be completely secured. The various heresies and commotions which had disturbed her for centuries had been suppressed by fire and sword; the complaints and petitions of her most faithful children had been rejected with insolent impunity; and the warnings of her sincerest friends were neglected or despised. Where were now the Waldenses, the Albigenses, the Beghards, the Lollards, the Bohemians, and the various sectaries? They had been silenced or extinguished by Papal management. True, there were many private murmurs against the injustice, frauds, violence, and tyranny of the court of Rome; also against the crimes, ignorance, and licentiousness of her whole priesthood; but the Pontiffs had grown accustomed to these murmurings, and could either conciliate with their favours, or defy with their censures, as best suited their policy.

We can imagine **the false woman,** according to the language of St. John, surveying with exultation the pillars and bulwarks

* Milman's "Survey, Latin Christianity," vol. vi., p. 357; Greenwood's "Summary," book xiv., chap. i.

of her strength. "For she saith in her heart, I sit a queen, and am no widow, and shall see no sorrow." She heeded not the voice that had said, "Her sins have reached unto Heaven, and God hath remembered her iniquities" (Rev. 18).

God's time was come for at least a partial fulfilment of this prophecy. The word of arrest had gone forth. Just when she thought everything was safe and settled for ever, the end of her uncontrolled domination was at hand. But how was this to be accomplished? A reformation of the Church in its head and members had been the general cry for ages; but all such demands and complaints she set at defiance. What now was to be done? Must some mighty angel come down from Heaven to overthrow the despotism of Rome, and break the yoke of Popery which has so long bound in fetters the bodies and souls of men? No! Such agencies were not required and not used, that God may be glorified. That which the most powerful sovereigns with their armed legions utterly failed to effect, God fully and gloriously accomplished by an obscure monk in Saxony, single-handed.

This was **Martin Luther** of Eisleben. He was the voice of God that awoke Europe to this great work and called the labourers into the field. But if we would form a just estimate of God's chief instrument in this mighty work, and of the grace that qualified him, we must glance at what is important in the early life of the great Reformer. D'Aubigné, in his love of Luther, speaks of him as having experienced in his own soul the different phases of the Reformation before they were accomplished in the world; and exhorts his readers to study his life before he proceeds to the events that changed the face of Christendom.

THE FIRST PERIOD OF LUTHER'S LIFE.

Martin Luther was descended from a poor but virtuous family, which had long dwelt in the domains of the Counts of Mansfeld, in Thuringia. "I am the son of a peasant," he used to say; "my father, my grandfather, and my great-grandfather, were honest peasants." His father, **John Luther,** soon after his marriage removed to Eisleben in Saxony. There Luther was born, November 10th, 1483. It was on St. Martin's eve. The following day he was christened by the name of Martin, in honour of the saint on whose festival he was born.

His father was an upright and industrious man; frank in his manner, but disposed to carry the firmness of his character even to obstinacy. He was fond of reading and improving his naturally strong understanding by studying such books as came within his reach. His wife, Margaret, was a humble, prayerful, pious woman, looked up to by her neighbours as a pattern of virtue.

The following summer, or when Martin was about six months

old, the family removed back to Mansfeld, where they endured great poverty. "My father was a wood cutter," says Luther, "and my mother has often carried the wood on her back that she might procure the means of bringing up her children." But the Lord was not unmindful of these honest labours and raised them above such drudgery in due time. John became connected with the iron mines at Mansfeld, and, by his habits of industry and the general respect he acquired by his good sense, he was brought into comparatively easy circumstances. He was chosen a member of the town council; and by the superior character of his mind he easily found his way to the best society in the district.

The father's fondest ambition was to make his eldest son a scholar; but he did not forget his early domestic education. As soon as he was old enough to receive instruction, his pious parents spoke to him about the Lord Jesus and prayed with him by his bedside. Martin was sent very young to school. His first instructor was one George Emilius, the schoolmaster of the place. There he was taught the catechism, the commandments, the creed, the Lord's prayer, and the rudiments of Latin. But, according to the manners of the age, poor little Martin acquired his first religious education through many and severe floggings. From an early age he was trained in the school of poverty, hardship, and suffering, for a future life of warfare. On one occasion, as he himself relates, he was flogged by the unsparing Emilius fifteen times in the same day. His treatment at home was not more merciful.

"His father administered with conscientious rigour," says one of his biographers, "what was long considered as the only instrument of moral or intellectual cultivation; and even his mother engaged in the system with so much zeal as to draw blood by her chastisements." Martin's warm and resolute temper gave frequent occasions for punishment on this principle. "My parents," he said in after life, "treated me harshly, so that I became very timid. My mother one day chastised me so severely about a nut, that the blood came; but they sincerely thought they were doing right." *

THE SECOND PERIOD OF LUTHER'S LIFE.

At the age of fourteen Martin had learned all that could be taught at Mansfeld, and having given some promise of proficiency, his father sent him to the Franciscan school at **Magdeburg.** But the severity of Luther's education did not cease when he left his father's house and the hard discipline of Emilius. He found himself at Magdeburg in the midst of strangers, without friends, without means, and without food enough to live upon.

* Waddington's "Reformation," vol. i., p. 31; D'Aubigné's "Reformation," vol. i., p. 195.

His spirit was crushed ; he trembled in the presence of his masters, and had to employ the interval of study in begging bread. When, with his young companions, he went at Christmas through the neighbouring villages singing carols, all were so timid, by reason of the menaces and tyranny with which teachers were then accustomed to rule over their pupils, that they ran away from a kind peasant, who came out with some food for them. Frightened at the sound of a loud voice calling, " Boys, where are you ? " they fled. It was only his repeated calls and assurances that brought them back to partake of his bounty.

Here Luther remained about a year, but his difficulty in finding food was so great that, with the consent of his parents, he left and went to **Eisnach,** which contained a good school, where also his mother's relations resided. But his kindred who dwelt there either neglected him or were unable to help him. So hard were his circumstances that it seemed likely he would have to leave. But again, when pinched by hunger, he tried singing from door to door for a morsel of bread. This custom is still preserved in many German cities ; and in some places the choral boys are expected to solicit contributions in aid of the funds of the institution. Such a mode of earning his bread was most humiliating to the mind of Luther. The frequent repulses he met with well nigh broke his spirit. He shed many tears in secret, and indulged anxious thoughts about the future.

" Must I abandon all my fond hopes of education, of improvement, of advancement ? Must I go back to Mansfeld and be shut up in the mines for ever ? " Such questions had become present realities to the young student. But there was One who was watching over him, though as yet he knew Him not ; and who had destined him to work in other mines than those at Mansfeld. A Father's hand was directing and weighing every trial ; the enemy could not add a grain to their weight beyond the Divine measure. He was training His future servant in the school of adversity ; and when he had learnt his lesson the reward would come. A crisis in his history was at hand. The Lord's time for relief had arrived.

LUTHER AND THE PIOUS URSULA.

One day, as Luther was returning from his labours, greatly disappointed and disheartened, having sung before three successive houses unrewarded, a door suddenly opened ; a woman appeared on the threshold, who invited him to come in, and relieved his wants. This was the kind-hearted **Ursula,** the wife of Conrad Cotta. She had noticed him before and had been struck with the sweetness of his voice and the seriousness of his expression. Conrad approved of his wife's benevolence, and they agreed that he should remain with them as an adopted son.

Relieved from his temporal cares, and enjoying the many privileges of a Christian family, the naturally fine mind of Luther awoke to new sympathies, new joys, new hopes—to a new and happy existence. God in mercy had opened the hearts and the home of the good Ursula and her husband for the spirit-broken youth. We need scarcely add, that their love was *engraven* on the heart of Luther, and recorded in Heaven to be *rewarded* for ever.

To his literary and scientific studies—which he now pursued with fresh vigour—he added the charms of music. In gratitude to his adopted mother, he learned in his hours of recreation to play on the flute and the lute, and to sing to the latter, for she was passionately fond of the melody of his voice as an accompaniment to the lute. Thus began that love of music which continued even to old age, and was often a solace to him in times of trouble and temptation. He composed tunes for many songs, and also the words as well as the airs of some very beautiful hymns.

In the genial atmosphere of the Cotta family it was only natural that the character of Luther should undergo a great change. His anxieties were removed, his timidity disappeared, his mind was peaceful, his ways were cheerful and happy, and his remarkable talents made him the special favourite at the Franciscan school. Thus he spent four happy years. "He surpassed all his fellows," says Melanchthon, "in eloquence, and compositions both in prose and verse." Trebonius, the superior of the convent and the head of the college, always raised his cap to salute the pupils when he entered the schoolroom. His colleagues, not adopting the same custom, expressed their surprise at his condescension. "There are among these boys," he replied, "some whom God will one day make burgomasters, chancellors, doctors, and magistrates. Although you do not yet see them with the badges of their dignity, it is right that you should treat them with respect." The youthful Luther was present, and no doubt often remembered the words of his esteemed teacher.

Encouraged by his early triumphs at Eisenach, and feeling that his course of study was secured, he thirsted for more extensive means of intellectual advancement and distinction. A university education was his great desire. His father, whose circumstances were improved, agreed to this, but wished him to study the law.

LUTHER ENTERS THE UNIVERSITY AT ERFURT.

In the year 1501, Luther arrived at the University in **Erfurt,** then the most distinguished in Germany. He had reached his eighteenth year, and entered with great eagerness into the studies of manhood. "My father," says Luther, "maintained

me there with much love and faithfulness, and supported me by the sweat of his brow." One of his biographers, moralising on this grateful record of the son, observes : "And assuredly all the volumes of the history of mankind contain no record of a parent's manual toil being recompensed by so glorious a harvest as that which sprang from the persevering industry of the miner of Mansfeld. Every drop that fell from that brow was converted by a watchful providence to the furtherance of its purposes, and made the means of fertilising the mind, which it had ordained to change the predominant principles of the Christian world." *

There is reason to believe that other thoughts besides the cultivation of his intellect were exercising the mind of Luther at this time. The merciful intervention of God in the kindness of the Cotta family, and what he had seen and learnt there, made a deep and lasting impression on his inmost soul. He strongly objected to the study of Aristotle, although his system was in great repute at the college, and represented as the best, or rather the only, discipline for his reason. "Had Aristotle not been a man," he used to say, "I should not have hesitated to take him for a devil ; " so great was his aversion to the philosophy of the learned Greek. The works of the great scholastics of former ages, such as Scotus, Aquinas, Ockham, and Bonaventura were recommended to him as the only means of piety and learning. But these, for meeting the need of a troubled conscience, were little better than the logic of Aristotle. Nevertheless, in the wisdom of God, it was necessary that he should become conversant with these writings that he might be the better able, and have the better ground, to expose their utter worthlessness as to the service and worship of God. He also studied the best Latin authors, and, being blessed with great powers of penetration, perseverance, and a retentive memory, he made rapid progress in his studies, and early acquired the reputation of an expert and skilful dialectician.

In the year 1503 he took his first academical degree of Bachelor of Arts ; and in 1505, he took that of Doctor in Philosophy. Having made considerable proficiency in several branches of literature, he began in obedience to his father's wishes, to turn his attention to the subject of jurisprudence. But the Lord had other work for Luther ; grace was already working in his heart. He was about that time given to much prayer ; and used to say, "that prayer is the better half of studying "—a good maxim for all Christian students.

LUTHER'S FIRST SIGHT OF A BIBLE.

In a state of trembling anxiety about the salvation of his soul, he was one day searching the library at Erfurt for something

* Waddington, vol. i., p. 34.

new, when the hand of God directed him to a Bible. He read the title page—it is indeed **the Holy Bible**! He was greatly excited and interested as he rapidly turned over its leaves. He was then twenty years of age, and had not so much as seen the precious volume before. Let the Protestant reader note this: He had been brought up by pious parents, lived four years in a Christian family, and had not even seen a Bible! The same ignorance of the Word of God prevails in Roman Catholic communities to this hour. The Bible forms no part of a Catholic priest's education, and the people are forbidden to read it. Tens of millions are now in circulation, but in a strictly Roman Catholic district it would be difficult to find a single copy. Some extracts are used in the Church service, and even pious Catholics are ready to believe that these extracts contain the substance of the whole Bible. Such is the narrow and precarious foundation on which their faith is built, and such the blinding, ruinous power of that fearful system of darkness and idolatry.

But we have also, as Protestants, to remember that the Bible is not its own power, or its own interpreter. For as "no man knoweth the things of a man save the spirit of a man which is in him," so "no man knoweth the things of God save the Spirit of God." Without the teaching and power of the Holy Spirit, through faith in Christ Jesus, there can be no right understanding of the Word of God, and no true subjection of heart to its absolute authority.

To Romanists as well as to Protestants, the oracles of God had been committed; and **that Sacred Book** will be the ground of men's judgment before the great white throne; but, historically, the one kept it laid up in a napkin, affirming that it was too sacred for the eyes of men to see or the ears of men to hear; the other brought it forth to the light, broadcast it over all lands, and caused its voice to be heard on the open highway, and in the streets and lanes of the city. Thus was the Reformation accomplished. Deep in the credulity and devotion of the multitude had Rome struck her roots; and she stood firm and unshaken until access was gained to the minds of the common people. And this was done by the free circulation of the Bible. "The movement was from above, in the great grace of God. The Spirit, still testifying to Jesus, Lord of all, gave its tongue and voice to the Word. God was with it in the vessels He had afore prepared for the work; and whether in quickening, throwing light upon the path to glory, and upon those that travelled in it; or convicting and discovering Satan, with his slaves on their downward march of rebellion towards Hell, it was the Holy Spirit who was the power of understanding, and proclamation, and application of the Word." We now return to the history of Luther.

Again and again Luther found his way to the library in the monastery. With increasing delight he examined the unsoiled pages of the Latin Bible, and wished in his heart that he might some day possess such a treasure. He was astonished at the mass of knowledge it contained, and arrested by its simple narratives, especially such as the history of Hannah and the young Samuel. But attractive as the Word of God became to him, and much as he enjoyed reading it, he was far from seeing the way of salvation. The excessive labour which enabled him to pass his examinations with honours occasioned a dangerous illness. When death seemed approaching, what was his refuge? "O Mary, help me!" he kept calling loudly through the night. He knew not a more powerful saviour than the Virgin Mary. "Had I died at that time," he said years after, "I should have died relying upon Mary." The true ground of a sinner's pardon and salvation had never been presented to him; and he had received the most perfect education which home and the Church, with her universities could give.

LUTHER BECOMES A MONK.

Encouraged by the dignities and the popularity which he had gained, he felt disposed, with returning health to apply himself entirely to the study of law; and began to teach the ethics of Aristotle with other branches of philosophy. While thus engaged in secular pursuits, a singular and solemn event occurred which gave a new direction to his whole future life. One of his favourite College friends, Alexius, was cut off suddenly, and probably by the hand of violence; but the particulars of his death are uncertain. The results, however, were certain and important. Luther trembled. What would become of my soul, were I thus called away without warning? The terrors of death which had affected him before returned with redoubled violence and took possession of his whole soul. While in this state of mental agitation, and the solemn question of his soul's salvation still unsettled, he was overtaken by a dreadful thunderstorm near Erfurt. The lightning flashed, the thunder rolled, the terrified Luther threw himself upon the ground, imagining that the hour of death, judgment, and eternity were come. Encompassed with the terrors of death and ignorant of his way to God by the faith of Jesus, he called upon St. Anne, and made a vow that, if the Lord would deliver him from this danger, he would abandon the world, and shut himself up in a convent for the rest of his days.

The storm passed, Luther re-enters Erfurt, but not to resume his lectures, not to pursue the study of the law. His vow was upon him. He resigned his brilliant prospects for the obscurity of a cloister. This was the customary usage in those days for all who became seriously religious, in the hope of obtaining a

holiness that would fit them to meet God. He knew it would greatly distress his father, and this thought pained him exceedingly, but his resolution was unalterable. About a fortnight after the event, on the 17th of August, 1505, he invited a few of his university friends to supper. As usual, music and conversation enlivened the social meeting. At an advanced hour in the evening Luther communicated his intention. This was his farewell entertainment—his farewell to the world. That same night, in spite of every remonstrance, he entered the **Augustinian Convent** at Erfurt.

Luther could do nothing coldly or feebly. See him now leaving his friends, his books, his clothes, and in the darkness of the night hastening to the convent gate. "Open to me in the name of God," he cried. "What do you want?" replied the friar. "To consecrate myself to God." The gate opened; Luther entered, and it closed again. He was now separated from his parents, his friends, his studies, the world; but, according to the notions of that time, his soul was now perfectly safe, he was alone with God.

LUTHER'S EXPERIENCE AS A MONK.

The motives by which Luther was actuated in taking this hasty step he thus explains about sixteen years later: "I was never in heart a monk, nor was it to mortify the lust of my fleshly appetites, but, tormented with the horror and the fear of death, I took a forced and constrained vow." Immediately after his entry into the convent he sent back to the university his robe and ring of office, he parted with the clothes he had worn up till then, that nothing might remain that could remind him of the world he had renounced. His father was greatly grieved by all these proceedings, and his friends at Erfurt were utterly astonished. Only the monks rejoiced; they were no doubt flattered by so distinguished a doctor becoming one of their order.

But the lingering desire of Luther's heart for more reading and contemplation was not to be indulged in the monastery. No sooner had he entered than he was subjected, notwithstanding his high reputation in the university, to the most degrading monastic drudgery. He was ordered to sweep out the dormitories, to wind up the clock, to open and shut the gates, to perform the duties of porter, and to be the menial servant of the cloister. But this was not all. He must be publicly mortified; the high-minded student must be humbled. When the poor monk was tired with his manual labours, and expecting rest and some time for reading and study, he was urged to turn out with his wallet and beg for the convent. He was told that it was not by study that he would benefit the community, but rather by begging bread, corn, eggs, fish, meat, and money. And thus he

wandered forth with his sack through the streets of Erfurt, begging from door to door ; but not now as a poor singing boy, but as a Master of Arts and a Doctor of Philosophy.

This was a severe education for Luther, but it was no doubt permitted and overruled by an all-wise providence, that he might gain through personal experience a more minute acquaintance with monastic life, and a keener sense of its delusions, than he could have learnt in any other way. But the enemy, as he often does, went too far. The university was ashamed to see one of its late honourable members laden with the monastery's bread-bag, and begging, it might be, at the doors of his old friends. The prior of the convent was spoken to, and Luther was released from those errands of mendicity.

LUTHER'S CONVERSION.

Having obtained some relaxation from his menial duties, Luther now returned to his studies with fresh zeal. Reading and meditation were his delight. The works of the Fathers, especially of St. Augustine, attracted his attention. In a certain spot of the convent there was a Bible fastened by a chain, and thither the young monk often resorted to read the Word of God, though as yet he had no spiritual discernment of its meaning. One of the friars, named **John Lange,** with whom Luther became acquainted, possessed considerable knowledge both of the Greek and Hebrew, languages which Luther had not yet found time to study. But his opportunity was now come, and he embraced it with great eagerness and industry. It was thus, in the seclusion of his cell, and with the help of John Lange, that he began to learn Greek and Hebrew, and thereby laid the foundation of the greatest and most useful of all his works—the translation of the Bible into the German tongue. Reuchlin's Hebrew Lexicon had just appeared, which greatly assisted him.

But Luther's reading and exercises of mind on the Scriptures, from not understanding them, only increased his distress. To have the assurance of salvation was the one great desire of his agitated soul. Without this nothing could give him rest. He had entered the cloister, he had become a monk, he had struggled unceasingly against the evil of his own heart, he had spent whole nights on his knees on the floor of his cell, he had exceeded all his brethren in watchings, fastings, and mortifications, but in monkish perfection he had found no relief ; it only plunged him into deeper despair, and well nigh cost him his life. Through the rigour of his asceticism he weakened his body till his mind wandered, and then he imagined that he saw and was surrounded with ghosts and demons. But why was this ? some may inquire. Was he not sincere ? Most surely ; but he sought to obtain peace with God by means of his own religious exercises, and in

this he was bitterly disappointed. He was attempting to do the work for himself which Christ had done for him—and done perfectly. And are not thousands in the present day doing the very same thing that Luther did, only less sincere, less earnest, less self-denying? They are looking to themselves—it may be only to their feelings, or it may be to their doings or their reasonings, or their realisings. Still, self is the object before the mind, not Christ and His finished work. "Look unto Me," says the blessed Lord; and what will the immediate result be? Salvation!—instant, complete, personal salvation! "Look unto Me, and be ye saved, all the ends of the earth; for I am God, and there is none else" (Isa. 45. 22). And to this truth every soul must bow before it can taste the sweetness of peace with God. But Luther was still ignorant of the sublime simplicity and the moral glory of the Gospel of the grace of God.

At this period of Luther's history he thought nothing too great a sacrifice that might enable him to attain that holiness which would secure salvation now, and Heaven at last. He really thought to purchase eternal happiness by his own exertions; such is the darkness of the Church of Rome, and such was the delusion of one of her most faithful sons. In after years, when he knew better, he wrote to **Duke George of Saxony**: "I was indeed a pious monk, and followed the rules of my order more strictly than I can express. If ever monk could obtain Heaven by his monkish works, I should certainly have been entitled to it. Of this all the friars who have known me can testify. If it had continued much longer, I should have carried my mortifications even to death, by means of watchings, prayers, readings, and other labours." Admission into Heaven by his own merits was the end at which he aimed, and which he pursued with a zeal that endangered his life.

From the strictness and abstemiousness of his monastic life he became subject to fits of depression. On one occasion, overwhelmed with a sense of his own wretchedness and sinfulness, he locked himself up in his cell, and for several days and nights refused to admit any one. A friendly monk, who knew something of the state of his mind, burst open his cell, and was alarmed to find him with his face on the ground, and in a state of insensibility. He was, after some difficulty, restored by the sweet singing of a few chorister boys, but he fainted again—the burden was still there. He required, not the soft music of a hymn, but the sweeter music of the Gospel of our Lord and Saviour Jesus Christ. And this, through the mercy of God, was near at hand.

LUTHER AND STAUPITZ.

John Staupitz, whom the Lord sent to Luther with a message of mercy, was vicar-general of the Augustines for all Germany.

Historians speak of him in the highest terms. "He was indeed of noble descent," says one, "but he was far more illustrious through the power of his eloquence, the extent of his learning, the uprightness of his character, and the purity of his life." * It is matter of thankfulness, and worthy of note, to find such a godly man filling such an important office even in the last stage of Papal degeneracy. His influence was great and good. He possessed the esteem of Frederick the Wise, Elector of Saxony, who founded the University of Wittemberg under his direction.

A visitation of this good man—the vicar-general—to inspect the monastery at Erfurt was announced just about the time when the anguish of Luther's mind had reached its height. The wasted frame, the melancholy appearance, yet the earnest resolute look of the young monk attracted the attention of Staupitz. From past experience he knew well the cause of his dejection, and most kindly instructed and comforted him. He assured Luther that he was entirely mistaken in supposing that he could stand before God on the ground of his works or his vows; that he could only be saved by the mercy of God, and that mercy must flow to him through faith in the blood of Christ. "Let your principal occupation be the study of the Scriptures," says Staupitz; and along with this good advice he presented Luther with a Bible, which of all things on earth he most desired.

A ray of Divine light had penetrated the dark mind of Luther. His conversations and correspondence with the vicar-general greatly helped him, but he was still a stranger to peace with God. His bodily health again gave way under the conflicts of his soul. During the second year of his residence in the convent he became so dangerously ill that he had to be removed to the infirmary. All his former terrors returned at the approach of death. He was still ignorant of the value of the finished work of Christ to the believer, and so were his teachers. The frightful image of his own guilt, and the demands of God's holy law filled him with fear. Not being a common-place man, and passing through an experience which common-place men could not understand, he was alone; he could tell his griefs to none.

One day, as he lay, overwhelmed with despair, he was visited by an old monk, who spoke to him of the way of peace. Won by the kindness of his words, Luther opened his heart to him. The venerable father spoke to him of the efficacy of faith, and repeated to him that article in the Apostles' Creed: "*I believe in the forgiveness of sins.*" These few simple words, with the Lord's blessing, seem to have turned the mind of Luther from works to faith. He had been familiar with the form of these words from his childhood, but he had only repeated them as a form of words, like thousands of nominal Christians in all ages.

* Waddington, vol. i., p. 47.

Now they filled his heart with hope and consolation. The old monk, hearing him repeating the words to himself, "I believe in the forgiveness of sins," as if to fathom their depth, interrupted him by saying that it was not a mere *general* but a *personal* belief. I believe in the forgiveness, not merely of David's sins, or of Peter's sins, but of *my sins*. Even the devils have a general but not a personal belief. "Hear what St. Bernard says," added the pious old monk: "The testimony of the Holy Ghost to thy heart is this, *Thy sins are forgiven thee.*" From this moment Divine light entered the heart of Luther, and, step by step, through the diligent study of the Word and prayer, he became a great and honoured servant of the Lord.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONVERSION OF LUTHER.

This is the simple story of Luther's conversion, and a genuine conversion it was, through the grace of God. But, so far as Luther's mind was concerned, it was not a very solid work. The measure and character of the truth presented by Staupitz and the old monk could not have fortified him against the attacks of the enemy. With so little knowledge of the mind of God, the love of Christ, the completeness of His work, of deliverance through death and resurrection, a converted soul might soon be filled and harassed with doubts and fears. And this is what we find on all hands in the present day. Very few have settled peace with God. They *hope*, they *trust*, that they are saved, but there is very little of the full assurance of faith. And why? Just because of defective views of their own lost state and of the work of Christ as perfectly meeting that state. Take one text as an illustration: "For by one offering He hath perfected for ever them that are sanctified" (Heb. 10. 14). Surely, if we rightly apprehended the dignity and the glory of the sufferer, what would our faith be in the value of His sacrifice, of His one offering? There is no repetition, no second application of the blood; it can never lose its efficacy. We may be daily cleansed with the water of purification, but the idea of a second application of the blood of propitiation is unknown in Scripture. Once washed in that precious blood, the conscience is perfect for ever. That word, "for ever," means not so much eternally, as continuously, permanently, uninterruptedly perfect before God, even as Christ always is. God can never overlook that which has so perfectly blotted out sin, so perfectly glorified Himself, so perfectly vanquished every foe, and so perfectly obtained eternal redemption for every believer.

Up till the time that Luther met with Staupitz and the aged monk he was, to use his own words, "in the swaddling-bands of Popery, and had not seen its evils." And this is true, in a certain sense, of thousands still. They are in the swaddling-bands of

their respective systems of doctrine and Church-standing, without having ever carefully examined these things by the Word of God. Consequently they are strangers to that happy liberty wherewith Christ makes His people free. Luther was converted, but he was by no means out of the house of bondage. The unswathing of his soul was, through unbelief, a slow process. He knew almost nothing of the privileges and blessings of the children of God, and of their standing in Christ. But *we* know from Scripture what his blessings were, and what the blessings are of every converted soul. Immediately the woman touched the hem of the Redeemer's garment, the *fountain* of her disease was dried up. By the slender touch of faith the *virtue* that was in Jesus was made her own. Beautiful illustration of the newly-converted soul standing before God in all the virtue, the excellences, the life, the righteousness, the peace, the joy, the happy liberty of Christ Himself! Eternal life has taken the place of spiritual death, Divine righteousness of human sin, and nearness to God of moral distance. Such is the blessing of every soul the first moment of its conversion, though it may be on the borders of despair from the darkness of its condition, as Luther was.

Take another illustration—the penitent thief on the cross. A few moments after his conversion he enters Heaven with Christ, and as fitted for that holy place as Christ Himself. "To-day shalt thou be with Me in Paradise." The immediate consequence of faith in Christ is meetness for the inheritance of the saints in light (see also Luke 23. 39-43; Mark 5. 25-34; Col. 1. 12, 13, 14).

LUTHER A PRIEST AND A PROFESSOR.

He had spent three eventful years in the cloister at Erfurt. But these years were not lost to him. The general cultivation of his mind, the discipline of his soul, his study of Hebrew and Greek, were so many branches of needed education for his future career in the Lord's service. Besides, it was the place of his **spiritual birth,** and the place where he first heard of justification by faith—that Divine doctrine on which so much of his subsequent work was built.

In the year 1507 he was ordained a priest, at which ceremony his father was present, though still dissatisfied with the course of his son. Luther had now received power from the bishop to offer sacrifice for the living and the dead, and to convert, by muttering a few words, the unleavened cake into the real body and blood of the Lord. Luther submitted to and accepted these Popish pretensions, though against his convictions, and with fear and trembling. But his soul never completely recovered from the effects of this blasphemous ordination. A judicial

blindness as to the Scriptural simplicity of the Lord's Supper settled down upon his mind. He was enabled, by the grace of God to throw off and denounce many of Rome's superstitions, but never fully her crowning enormity, transubstantiation.

Staupitz, the faithful friend and patron of Luther, placed him, at the age of twenty-five, in a position suited for the display of his powerful and active mind, and the further development of his character. He was invited by the Elector Frederick, at the suggestion of the vicar-general, to occupy a chair of philosophy in his rising University. He removed to **Wittemberg** in the year 1508. But though called to be a professer he did not cease to be a monk. He lodged in a cell in the Augustinian Convent. The subjects on which he was appointed to lecture were the physics and dialectics of Aristotle. This was uncongenial employment for one who was hungering and thirsting after the Word of God. Neither physical science nor moral philosophy suited the spirit of his mind. But again, we may say, it was part of his needed education. He who had passed through the cloister must now occupy for a time the chair of scholastic philosophy, that he might be better fitted to expose the evils, and combat the errors, of both systems, and emancipate the minds of men from their influence.

In the meantime, though he was attracting the youths of Wittemberg by the force and style of his lectures, he was zealously applying himself to the study of Greek and Hebrew. His desire was to drink at the fountain ; and He who saw the great desire of his heart and the labour of his life opened up the way for him. In a few months after his arrival at the University he obtained the degree of Bachelor of Divinity, which entitled him to lecture on theology, or on the Bible. He now felt himself in his proper sphere, and determined to communicate that only which he learnt from the Word of God. His first discourses were on the Psalms, and then he passed to Paul's Epistle to the Romans.

His previous meditations on these portions in his quiet cell, both at Erfurt and Wittenberg, gave a character to his lectures altogether new. He spoke, not merely as an eloquent schoolman, but as a Christian who felt the power of the great truths he taught. When he reached in his expositions, the last clause of Romans 1. 17, "**The just shall live by faith,**" a light, we may say, beyond the brightness of the sun, filled his whole soul. The Spirit of God clothed the words with light and power to the understanding and to the heart of Luther. The grand doctrine of justification by faith alone he received into his heart as from the voice of God. He now saw that eternal life was to be obtained not by penance but by faith. The whole story of the German Reformation is connected with these few words. In their light he explained the Scriptures of the Old and New

Testament ; by their truth he exposed the falsehoods of Popery, he thrilled the heart of Europe, he brought the reign of imposture to an end, and accomplished the great Reformation. Alone he stood before all authority—before all the world—on the truth of the Word of God, "*the just shall live by faith.*" God's Word is true, Popery is a lie ; the one must fall, the other must triumph ; truth is health to the soul, a lie is deadly poison. These principles of eternal righteousness were now firmly fixed in the heart of Luther by the Spirit of God ; and, simple as they may appear, he was enabled, through faith in the Word of God, to triumph over Popes, bishops, clergy, kings, and emperors, raising the standard of salvation through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, without works of law.

The great work was now begun, but the workman had still some lessons to learn.

LUTHER VISITS ROME.

Some disputes having arisen between the vicar-general and several of the Augustinian monasteries, Luther was selected as a fit person to represent the whole matter before his Holiness in Rome. It was necessary, in the wisdom of God, that Luther should know **Rome.** As a monk in the far north, he only thought of the Pope as the most holy father, and of Rome as the city of the saints ; and these prejudices and delusions could only be dispelled by personal observation. Intelligence did not circulate then as now.

In the year 1510, penniless and barefoot, Luther **crossed the Alps.** A meal and a night's rest he begged at the monasteries or the farm-houses as he went along. But scarcely had he descended the Alps, when he found monasteries of marble and the monks feeding on the most sumptuous fare. All this was new and surprising to the frugal monk of Wittemberg. But when Friday came, what was his astonishment to find the tables of the Benedictines groaning with dainty meats ! He was so moved with indignation that he ventured to say, "The Church and the Pope forbid such things." For this remonstrance, some say, he nearly atoned with his life. Having received a friendly hint to be off, he quitted the monastery, travelled through the burning plains of Lombardy, and reached Bologna, dangerously ill. Here the enemy turned his thoughts in upon himself, and he became greatly troubled with the sense of his own sinfulness, for the prospect of death filled him with fear and terror. But the words of the apostle, "*The just shall live by faith,*" like a ray of light from Heaven, chased the dark clouds away, changed the current of his thoughts, and restored his peace of mind. With returning strength he renewed his journey, and after passing through Florence, and toiling under an oppressive Italian sun

through the long tract of the Apennines, he at length drew near to the seven-hilled city.

We must preface **Luther's entry into Rome** by reminding our readers that, though he had received the truth of the Gospel, he was still a Papist, and that his devotion to the Papacy partook of the vehemence of bigotry. Rome, to the rude German, was the holy city, sanctified by the tombs of the apostles, the monuments of saints, and the blood of martyrs. But, alas! the Rome of reality was widely different from the Rome of his imagination. As he approached the gates, his heart beat violently. He fell on his knees, and, with his hands raised to Heaven, he exclaimed, "Holy Rome, I salute thee! Blessed Rome, thrice sanctified by the blood of thy martyrs!" With all sorts of affectionate and respectful terms he thus saluted the metropolis of Christendom. And under the influence of this wild enthusiasm he hastened to the holy places, listening to all the legends by which they are consecrated; and all that he saw and heard he most devoutly believed. But his heart was very soon sickened with the profanity of the Italian priests. One day, when he was repeating Mass with great seriousness, he found that the priests at an adjoining altar had already repeated seven Masses before he had finished one. "Quick! quick!" cried one of them, "send our Lady back her Son," making an impious allusion to the transubstantiation of the bread into the body and blood of Jesus Christ. Profanity could scarcely reach a higher pitch. Luther's disenchantment was complete, and the purpose of God in his education was accomplished.

Luther had expected to find in Rome an austere religion; "her brow circled with griefs, resting on the bare earth, quenching her thirst with the dew of heaven, clothed like the apostles, making her way along stony paths, and the Gospel under her arm; but in place of this he saw the triumphal pomp of the Pontiff; the cardinals in litters, on horseback, or in carriages, glittering with precious stones, and covered from the sun by a canopy of peacocks' feathers. The gorgeous churches, and the more gorgeous rituals, and the pagan splendour of the paintings, were to Luther, whose heart was heavy with thoughts of the priests' profanity, utterly unbearable. What was the Rome of Raphael, of Michael Angelo, of Perugino, and Benvenuto, to the poor German monk, who had travelled four hundred leagues on foot, expecting to find that which would deepen his devotion and strengthen his faith!"

Yet such was the power of educational superstition in Luther, notwithstanding his knowledge of Scripture, and his bitter disappointment in Rome, that one day, wishing to obtain an indulgence promised by the Pope to all who should ascend on their knees what is called **Pilate's staircase**, he was humbly

creeping up those steps, which he was told had been miraculously transported from Jerusalem to Rome, when he thought he heard a voice, loud as thunder, crying, "*The just shall live by faith.*" Amazed, he rises from the steps up which he was dragging his body; ashamed at seeing to what a depth superstition had plunged him, he flies with all haste from the scene of his folly.

Having transacted the business on which he was sent, he turned his back for ever upon the Pontifical city. "Adieu! Rome," he said; "let all who would lead a holy life depart from Rome. Everything is permitted in Rome except to be an honest man." He had no thought then of leaving the Roman Church, but, perplexed and troubled, he returned to Saxony.

Soon after Luther's return to Wittemberg, on the pressing solicitation of Staupitz, he took the degree of Doctor in Divinity. The Senate also gave him the pulpit of the Parish Church, which opened up for him at once a sphere of the greatest usefulness. But Luther, alarmed at the responsibility, showed some reluctance to accept a dignity of such spiritual importance. As his friendly vicar sought to remove his scruples, and pressed the service upon him, he submitted, and in the performance of his pulpit duties he had the rare opportunity of preaching the Word of God and the Gospel of Christ in the cloisters of his convent, the chapel of the castle, and in the collegiate Church. His voice, says history, was fine, sonorous, electrifying; his gesticulations were easy and noble. A bold originality ever marked the mind of Luther, charming many by its novelty, and overpowering others by its force. He had acquired during the last four or five years a respectable acquaintance both with Greek and Hebrew; he had read deeply the New Testament; he was fully assured that justification by faith was the peculiar doctrine of the Gospel; that the Word of God was the primary and fundamental means of the revival and Reformation of the Church.

From the year 1512 to the memorable year 1517, Luther was a bold intrepid herald of the Word of Life. In all things he longed only to know the truth, to shake off and cast from him the falsehoods and superstitions of Rome. And thus we leave Luther for the present, engaged in his glorious work, while we must refer for a few moments to the state of things in the Church which brought John Tetzel and his indulgences into the neighbourhood of Wittemberg.*

* D'Aubigné, vol. i; Froude's "Short Studies," vol. i.; Waddington's "Reformation," vol. i.; "Universal History," vol. vi.; Bagster & Sons.

CHAPTER XXXIV

The First Papal Jubilee

THE avarice of the Roman clergy, and the superstition of the people, had been greatly excited by the Crusades. For two hundred years these were the source of enormous wealth and power to the Church, and of incalculable misery, ruin, and degradation to the nations of Europe. In these so-called holy wars about six millions of Europeans perished, and about two hundred millions of money were expended; besides, the property of the Crusader was commonly placed during the expedition under the bishop's protection, and in case of his death—which generally happened—it remained in his hands. But happily that which "stands singularly marked in the temple of history as a monument of human absurdity, of unanimous infatuation," came to an end with the close of the thirteenth century.

In the year 1291, **Acre,** the last military station held by the Christians in Palestine, fell into the hands of the Turks. The unbelievers were then in possession of the sepulchre of Christ, and of all the holy places and objects of pilgrimage. Thus ended the great Papal scheme and the boasted glory of the Crusades to the Holy Land.

Two grave questions now arose: How is the Papal treasury to be filled, and the desire of the people for indulgences to be satisfied? The Pope wants money, the people want their sins forgiven, and are willing to pay for it. To meet these two important objects, the Pope discovered a new and most successful way. We have reached the last year of the thirteenth century, said Boniface; let the first year of the fourteenth be a year of Jubilee. Palestine was irrecoverably lost; the Cross and the Saviour's sepulchre were in the hands of the Saracens; but the holy city of Rome, and the tombs of the apostles were open to the pilgrims. By skilfully changing the place of pilgrimage from Jerusalem to Rome, the desired end was gained. Never was superstition more successful.

On the 22nd of February, 1299, a bull was issued, promising indulgences of extraordinary fulness to all who, within the following year, should, with due penitence and devotion, visit the **Tombs of St. Peter and St. Paul**—the Romans once a day for thirty successive days, and strangers for fifteen. The bull was immediately promulgated throughout Christendom. It asserted that all who should confess and lament their sins, and devoutly make pilgrimage to the tomb of the "chief of the apostles,"

should receive a plenary indulgence; or, in other words, *a complete remission of all sins, past, present, and to come.* An indulgence of this kind had hitherto been limited to the Crusaders; the consequence was that all Europe was in a frenzy of religious excitement. Multitudes hastened to Rome from all parts. The welcome sound of the Jubilee drew all Western Christendom into this vast peaceful crusade. "Throughout the year, the roads in the remotest parts of Germany, Hungary, Britain, were crowded with pilgrims of all ages, of both sexes, who sought to expiate their sins, not by an armed and perilous pilgrimage to Jerusalem, but by a less costly, and a less dangerous journey to Rome."

THE GOLDEN YEAR.

The calculations of the number cannot be easy or accurate; but we are assured by those who assisted at the ceremony, that there were always about *two hundred thousand present in the city*, and the total concourse of the year has been fixed at two millions. The wealth which flowed into the Papal coffers from the Jubilee was enormous. Supposing that each individual gave only a small sum, what a royal treasure must have been collected! But offerings were heaped up on the altars. It was called by the Romans **the Golden Year.** An eye-witness tells us that he saw two priests with rakes in their hands, employed day and night in raking, without counting, the heaps of gold and silver that were laid on the tombs of the apostles. Nor was this tribute, like offerings or subsidies for crusades, to be devoted to special uses, such as provisions or freight of armies, but it was entirely at the free and irresponsible disposal of the Pope. But from the benefits of this indulgence the enemies of the Church were to be excluded, or rather the enemies of Boniface.

Christendom, with the exception of a few noted rebels against the See of Rome, had now received the gift of pardon and eternal life, and in return, of its own accord, heaped up at the Pope's feet this extraordinary wealth. The authorities had taken wise and effective measures against famine for such accumulating multitudes, but many were trampled down, and perished by suffocation.

The experiment far exceeded the expectations of the Pope and his partisans. Boniface had proposed that the Jubilee should be celebrated every hundredth year; but the advantages to the Church were so great that the interval was naturally thought to be too long. Clement VI, therefore, repeated the Jubilee in 1350, which drew vast multitudes of pilgrims to Rome, and incredible wealth. The numbers were nearly as great as in 1300. The streets leading to the Churches which were to be visited—St. Peter's, St. Paul's, and St. John Lateran—were so crowded as to admit of no movement, except with the stream of

the multitudes. High prices were charged by the Romans for food and lodgings, many had to spend their nights in the Churches and streets, and not a few of the poor deluded pilgrims perished. Urban VI, in 1389, reduced the interval to thirty-three years, the supposed length of time to which the life of our Lord on earth extended. Finally, Paul II, in 1475, established that the festival of the Jubilee should be celebrated every twenty-five years, which continues to this day to be the interval at which the great festival is observed.

With the great **religious impostures** of the dark ages, and the sin of deluding a credulous people, we have become familiar; but it is truly heart-breaking to find that such blasphemies are believed and practised in our own day, notwithstanding the state of education and the number of witnesses to the truth of the Word of God and the finished work of Christ. The following extract from a bull that was issued by the Pope in 1824, appointing the Jubilee for the ensuing year, will explain what we mean.

"We have resolved, by virtue of the authority given to us from Heaven, fully to unlock that sacred treasure composed of the merits, sufferings, and virtues of Christ our Lord, and of His virgin mother, and of all the saints which the Author of human salvation has entrusted to our dispensation. To you, therefore, venerable brethren, patriarchs, primates, archbishops, bishops, it belongs to explain with perspicuity the power of indulgences; what is their efficacy in the remission, not only of the canonical penance, but also of the temporal punishment due to the Divine justice for past sins; and what succour is afforded out of this heavenly treasure, from the merits of Christ and His saints, to such as have departed real penitents in God's love, yet before they had duly satisfied by fruits worthy of penance, for sins of omission and commission, and are now purifying in the fire of Purgatory." *

THE SALE OF INDULGENCES.

Leo the Tenth ascended the Papal throne in the year 1513. He was the third son of Lorenzo de' Medici, the Magnificent, and brought with him to the Pontifical court the refined, luxurious, and expensive style of his family. Besides, Michael Angelo had furnished him with the finished design of St. Peter's, which was then in progress, and greatly increased his expenditure. The important question now was, how to find money to complete the grand cathedral, and to replenish the Papal treasury for the purposes of Leo's Pontificate.

The letters of Luther to this Pontiff are misleading. He seems not to have known Leo's character, though he had so much to do with him; they have all the appearance of flattery. While

* Gardner's "Faiths of the World," vol. ii., p. 252.

Leo has the reputation of being one of the most polished and cultivated men of his day, he was far from being even a moral man. His court was gay, he was devoted to pleasure, and utterly careless of the duties of religion. Compared with his immediate predecessors—the dissolute Alexander VI, whose name can never be mentioned without loathing—and the wild warrior-Pope, Julius II, whose stormy career filled a great part of Europe with blood and massacres—compared, we say, with such Popes, the person and court of Leo would present a favourable contrast; and Luther no doubt addressed him under his superstitious veneration for the head of the Church, and because of his fame as a man of learning.

To meet the various and heavy expenses of the extravagant Leo, the cry for money became louder and louder. "Money! money!" was the cry. "It was money," says one, "not charity, that covered a multitude of sins." Necessity suggested that the **price of indulgences** should be lowered, and that clever salesmen should be employed to push the trade all over Europe. The plan was adopted; but God overruled the shameless traffic for the accomplishment of the Reformation, and for the overthrow of the despotism of Rome. Germany, it was agreed, should be the first and especially favoured place with the sale of indulgences, as the geographical position of the country might have prevented many of the faithful from reaping the advantages of the Jubilee in Rome.

The original idea of indulgences seems to have been nothing more than a shortening of the outward penance imposed on penitents by the payment of a fine, such as we have constantly decreed in our courts of law—say, "Fined in fifty pounds, or six month's imprisonment." If the money is paid it is placed to the credit of the criminal, and he is released and receives his discharge. In like manner the poor deluded Papist supposes that the indulgence which he buys is placed to his credit in the statute-book of Heaven, which balances the account against him for lies, slanders, robberies, murders, and wickedness of all kinds; or, as some have compared it, to a letter of credit on Heaven, signed by the Pope, in consideration of value received. Of course, if the delinquent's sins are great and many, he must pay heavily for his indulgences.

This **pardon system** expanded, and was so worked by the priesthood, that it became the means of enormous wealth to the Papacy. Works meet for repentance were demanded from the sinner—and all were sinners—works such as fasting, castigation, pilgrimages, and after death so many years in Purgatory. But the sinner was reminded that the burden of these works might be removed, and the years of Purgatorial fire shortened, through the power delegated by Christ to the blessed Peter and his

successors, on certain conditions. The easiest of these conditions to the penitent, and the most convenient to the Pope was, "Money! money!"

THE POPE'S AGENTS—JOHN TETZEL.

The speculation of Leo was a great commercial success. He sent out suitable agents into different parts of Europe with sacks of indulgences and dispensations. For a given amount a dispensation could be purchased to eat meat on Fridays and fast days, to marry one's near relation, and to indulge in every forbidden pleasure. The pedlars moved on; they extolled their wares with shouts and jokes; they assured the people that pardon and the salvation of their souls could now be purchased at greatly reduced prices. Crowds of buyers came forward, and the money of the faithful flowed in plentifully. At length they appeared in Saxony. The Archbishop of Mayence, and other spiritual dignitaries, had promised the Pope their support in this shameless and iniquitous traffic, in consideration that they would receive a share of the profits; so business went on increasingly and uninterruptedly until the noisy hawkers came near to Wittemberg.

Amongst the many salesmen in this great Papal fair, one man in particular attracted the attention of the spectators; this was the Dominican monk, John Tetzel, a name which has acquired an odious notoriety in European history. These dealers traversed the country in great state, lived in good style, and spent money freely. When the procession approached a town, a deputy waited on the magistrate, and said, "The grace of God and of the holy father is at your gates." Such a proclamation in those times of superstition was enough to move the quietest cities of Germany to the greatest excitement. The clergy, priests, nuns, town councils and trades with their banners, men and women, old and young, went out to meet the merchants, bearing lighted tapers in their hands, and advancing to the sound of music. The streets everywhere were hung with flags; bells were pealed; nuns and monks walked in procession, crying, "Buy! buy!" The great merchant monk himself sat in a chariot, holding a large red cross in his hand, and with the Papal bull on a velvet cushion before him. The Churches were the sale-rooms; the arms of the Pope were hung on the red cross, and placed before the altar. Tetzel now ascended the pulpit, and loudly extolled in rude eloquence the efficacy of indulgences.*

A SPECIMEN OF TETZEL'S PREACHING.

Take the following extracts as a specimen of the blasphemous speeches of this **daring impostor,** and all under the sanction of the Pope and the archbishop of the place.

* See D'Aubigné, vol. i,, p. 322; Froude's "Short Studies," vol. i., p. 96.

"Indulgences are the most precious and the most noble of God's gifts. Come, and I will give you letters, all properly sealed, by which even the sins that you intend to commit may be pardoned. I would not change my privileges for those of St. Peter in Heaven, for I have saved more souls by my indulgences than the apostle by his sermons. There is no sin so great that an indulgence cannot remit. But, more than this, indulgences avail not only for the living but for the dead. Priest! noble! merchant! wife! youth! maiden! do you not hear your parents and your other friends who are dead, and who cry from the bottom of the abyss, We are suffering horrible torments! a trifling alms would deliver us; you can give it, and you will not! Oh, stupid and brutish people, who do not understand the grace so richly offered! Why, the very instant your money rattles at the bottom of the chest, the soul escapes from Purgatory, and flies liberated to Heaven. The Lord our God no longer reigns, He has resigned all power to the Pope."

The wild harangue of the coarse bellowing monk being over, the terrified and superstitious crowd hastened to purchase the pardon of their sins and the deliverance of their friends from the fires of Purgatory. From the royal family down to those who lived on alms, all found money to buy forgiveness. Money poured in plentifully; the Papal chest overflowed; but alas! alas! the moral effects were fearful. The easy terms on which men could obtain the Pope's licence for every species of wickedness, opened the way to the grossest immorality, and insubjection to all authority. Even Tetzel himself was convicted of adultery and infamous conduct at Innspruck, and sentenced by the Emperor Maximilian to be put into a sack and thrown into the river; but the Elector Frederick of Saxony interfered, and obtained his pardon. The unblushing Dominican proceeded on his way as the representative of his holiness the Pope, just as if nothing had happened.

LUTHER'S PUBLIC APPEAL.

A.D. 1517.

Things were now coming to a crisis. Luther, who had been watching narrowly the progress of Tetzel, stepped forward; made his grand appeal to the common sense and to the conscience of the German people; nailed his **theses to the Church door at Wittemberg,** and in ninety-five propositions challenged the whole Catholic Church to defend Tetzel and the sale of indulgences.

The axe was now laid at the root of the tree. The germs of the Reformation were contained in these propositions. "The Pope's indulgences," said Luther, "cannot take away sins. God alone remits sins, and He pardons those who are truly penitent without help from man's absolutions. The Church

may remit penalties which the Church inflicts. But the Church's power is in this world only, it extends not beyond death. Who is this man who dares to say that for so many crowns the soul of a sinner can be saved ? Every true Christian participates in all the blessings of Christ, by God's grace, and without a letter of indulgence." Such was the style of Luther's noble protest, though mixed with much that still savoured of Catholicism.

Luther had now entered the field against the doctrine and the abuses of the Church or Rome. The University and the whole city of Wittemberg were in commotion. All read the theses ; the startling propositions passed from mouth to mouth ; pilgrims from all quarters then present in Wittemberg, carried back with them the famous theses of the Augustinian monk, circulating the news everywhere. " This was the first electric flash," says Pfizer, " from the torch that was kindled at the funeral pile of the martyred Huss, and, reaching the remotest corner of the land, gave the signal of mighty future events." In less than fourteen days, it is said, these theses were read through every part of Germany ; and, ere four weeks had elapsed, they had overspread the whole of Christendom, as if the angels of Heaven had been the messengers to exhibit them to universal gaze.

Rome clamoured for fire and faggot. " The religious houses all Germany over," says Froude, " were like kennels of hounds howling to each other across the spiritual waste. If souls could not be sung out of Purgatory, their occupation was gone. But to the young laymen, to the noble spirits all Europe over, Wittemberg became a beacon of light shining in the universal darkness." Had Luther not been guided by the wisdom of God, he might have been swept away by his sudden popularity ; but of himself, through grace, he thought very little, and remained quietly at his post in the Augustinian Church at Wittemberg, waiting till God in His own time and way called him forth.

LUTHER AT HEIDELBERG.

In the spring of 1518 a General Assembly of the Augustinian Order was held at Heidelberg. Luther, by invitation, was present. His friends, knowing the designs and treachery of the Dominicans, did all they could to dissuade him from going. But Luther was not the man to be hindered by the fear of danger from the accomplishment of what he believed to be his duty. His trust was in the living God. So favourable an opportunity for preaching the Gospel, the spread of the truth, and the diffusion of his propositions, was not to be neglected. He started on the 13th of April, with a guide who assisted him to carry his baggage, and performed the greater part of the journey on foot.

General curiosity, the name of Luther, the fame of his theses, attracted large crowds to the city and the University of Heidel-

berg. Here, before a large assembly, he disputed with five doctors of divinity on a variety of subjects, but relating chiefly to theology and philosophy. His knowledge of Scripture, of the traditionary dogmas of the Church, his want of respect for the name and system of Aristotle, his great argumentative power, proved to his opponents that he was a polemic of no common order. He returned to Wittemberg, well protected and accompanied by many friends.

The wonderful effect produced by these controversies moved Tetzel to attempt a reply to Luther's attack on the sale of indulgences. Full of vain boasting and blasphemy, he asserts and reasserts the power of the Pope, and of the clergy as deputed by him, fully and for ever to forgive all sins. In answer to these daring assertions, Luther wrote a further series of propositions which he termed "**Resolutions**," or explanations of his former theses. In this treatise the *Reformer* is more distinctly seen. He brings prominently forward the great truth of the Reformation—that man is justified by faith alone without deeds of law. "For He hath made Him (Christ) to be sin for us, who knew no sin; that we might be made the righteousness of God in Him" (2 Cor. 5. 21).

Luther now challenges the decision of the Pope himself. He sent him a copy of his Resolutions, accompanied by a very humble letter, dated May 30th, 1518. Utterly careless as Leo really was as to the interests of religion, he could not treat with entire indifference the letter of Luther; especially as the Emperor Maximilian had solicited his interference about the same time. He ordered Luther to be sent to Rome and there to answer for his audacity. Luther refused to obey the summons, declaring, however, his readiness to appear and defend his cause before pious, impartial, and learned judges in Germany. The Pope, finding that Luther was under the protection of Frederick Elector of Saxony, wrote to that prince desiring him to deliver the heretical monk to the **Cardinal Thomas Cajetan,** who had full instructions how to act with regard to the disobedient doctor. But, to the praise of that singularly wise and excellent prince, he refused to obey the Pope's orders, and protected Luther. The Pope was now obliged to propose less hasty, less bloodthirsty, and more formal measures. Accordingly the citation to Rome was changed into a summons to Augsburg, which Luther declared his intention to obey.

LUTHER AT AUGSBURG.

Some of his friends, concerned for the safety of his valuable life, attempted to dissuade him from his purpose; but regardless of danger, and confiding in the watchful care of Divine providence, he was determined to appear. In his monk's brown frock, he started

on foot from Wittemberg, and accompanied by the citizens, high and low, to the gates, he cheerfully walked to Augsburg.

The cardinal assumed the appearance of a tender and compassionate father, and addressed Luther as his dear son; giving him to understand, however, in plainest language, that the Pope insisted on recantation, and that he would accept of nothing else. "Condescend then," said Luther, "to inform me in what I have erred." The cardinal and his Italian courtiers, who had expected the poor German monk to fall down on his knees and plead for pardon, were astonished at his calm but dignified manner. "I am here to command," replied Cajetan, "not to argue." "Rather," answered Luther, "let us reason on the points in dispute and settle them by the decisions of Sacred Scripture." "What!" exclaimed the cardinal, "do you think the Pope cares for the opinion of **a German boor**? The Pope's little finger is stronger than all Germany. Do you expect your princes to take up arms to defend *you—you*, a wretched worm like *you*? I tell you, No! And where will you be then—where will you be then?"

Mark the noble answer, not of a poor monk merely, but of the man of God in trying circumstances. "Then, as now, in the hands of Almighty God." Rome was vanquished. The court dissolved. "To the amazement of the proud Italian, a poor peasant's son—a miserable friar of a provincial German town—was prepared to defy the power and resist the prayers of the sovereign of Christendom." Though armed with full power to crush his victim, he had to return to Rome and report his defeat, and tell his master that neither remonstrances, threatenings, entreaties, nor promises of the highest distinction could move the stubborn German from his wicked heresies. The faithful witness, finding his person in extreme peril, secretly left the place and returned to Wittemberg.

Incensed to the utmost by this failure, the Pope wrote again to the Elector, entreating him to render up the criminal to justice or expel him from his dominions. Frederick hesitated. Many serious questions were involved in an open collision with the Pope. Rather than bring his prince into trouble, Luther seriously thought of escaping to France. But He who "turneth the hearts of kings whithersoever he will," led the good Elector to throw the shield of his protection over his subject.

As nothing satisfactory had resulted from the mission of Cajetan, Leo dispatched another agent in the person of the Papal nuncio, **Charles von Miltitz.** This emissary brought with him a golden rose, richly perfumed, as a present from the Pope to the Elector Frederick. This gift was usually esteemed as a special token of the Pontiff's favour, but in this instance it was doubtless intended as a bribe to the hesitating Frederick.

On reaching Saxony, Miltitz met with his old friend Spalatin, who made him acquainted with the real state of things in Germany. He assured the legate that the divisions of the Church were chiefly owing to the falsehoods, impostures, and blasphemies of Tetzel the indulgence-seller. Miltitz appeared to be astonished, and summoned Tetzel to appear before him at Altenburg and answer for his conduct. But things were greatly changed with the Dominican. He was no longer going from town to town with his Papal bull and gilt car, but was hiding from the anger of his enemies in the college at Leipsic. "I should not care," he wrote to Miltitz, "about the fatigue of the journey if I could leave Leipsic without danger to my life; but the Augustinian, Martin Luther, has so excited and aroused the men of power against me, that I am nowhere safe." What an end, and what a picture, of those who engage to be the servants of men against God and His truth! With a bad conscience, and as a mean coward, he died shortly after this in great misery. But mark the contrast in the moral courage of the servant of God and of His truth, travelling on foot from Wittemberg to Augsburg.

LUTHER AT ALTENBURG.

The Papal legate soon saw the general popularity of Luther's cause, and adopted a course directly opposite to that of the haughty Cajetan. He approached him with great demonstrations of friendliness, addressing him as "**My dear Martin.**" His grand object was to allure the Reformer by flattery and deception to recant, and so bring the dispute to a close. And so far the crafty nuncio succeeded. He was a cunning diplomatist and a fawning Papist, and Luther for the moment was caught in the snare.

"I offer," said Luther, "on my part to be silent for the future on this matter, and to let it die away of itself, provided my opponents are silent on their part." Miltitz accepted the offer with overflowing joy, kissed the heretical monk, induced him to write a penitent letter to the Pope, and lavished on him every expression of affection and kindness. Thus the great controversy between truth and falsehood, between the Papacy and the dawning Reformation, seemed on the point of being terminated. But the Reformation was not to be hindered by Luther's apparent reconciliation to Rome.

Just at this time, when Luther was silenced, when he had concluded an unworthy peace with Rome, another voice is heard **Doctor Eck**, the author of the Obelisken, and the champion of the Papacy, challenged Carlstadt, the friend of Luther, to a public disputation on the contested points of theology, and Luther's declaration on indulgences. This aroused the energies, and awoke the eloquence of Luther once more. A public dis-

cussion as conducted soon after at Leipsic, which lasted several weeks. Doctor Eck contended for the Papacy, and Luther and Carlstadt for the Reformation. These celebrated discussions were overruled by God for the spread of the truth, not only over Germany, but over all Christendom. Luther's appeals to Scripture created in the minds of many—especially in the minds of the students of the Universities of Leipsic and Wittemberg—a spirit of inquiry which nothing short of the solid truth of God could satisfy. Thus the work of the Lord progressed, and the mind of Europe was prepared for the great revolution which was so soon to take place.

DISTINGUISHED MEN OF THE SIXTEENTH CENTURY.

Here we may pause for a moment and note some of the great actors which now crowd the scene of this busy epoch. The age of the Reformation is one of the most remarkable in history for great men and great events.

Martin Luther, the one whom the Spirit of God is especially using, stands before us the most central and the most prominent figure. In his situation of peculiar danger, he might think that he was almost alone ; but God was gathering around him some of those distinguished men who early declared their entire sympathy with his position, and engaged all their powers in its defence. In the year 1518 **Philip Melanchthon** was appointed Professor of Greek in the University at Wittemberg ; and from that period he became the intimate friend and the faithful fellow-labourer of the Reformer, even to the end of his life. Œcolampadius, Professor at Basle, Ulric Zwingle, Doctor of Divinity at Zurich, Martin Bucer, and many others, did a gracious providence raise up just at this time, who have ever since been numbered among the most illustrous instruments of the Reformation.

The imperial throne falling vacant by the death of Maximilian, in January, 1519, proved favourable to the cause of Reform. The attention of the court of Rome was diverted from the affairs of Luther to the more pressing business of the new Emperor. And Frederick, during the interregnum as Vicar of the Empire, was able to afford Luther a still more secure protection. The imperial crown was offered by the electors to Frederick, but he declined the perilous distinction, not caring to trouble himself with the weight of empire. The election fell on Maximilian's grandson, Charles—grandson also of Ferdinand, the Catholic. The youthful, handsome, and chivalrous princes—Henry VIII, King of England, and Francis I, King of France—aspired also to the imperial dignity ; but the hereditary claims and possessions of Charles speedily turned the balance in his favour. He was sovereign of Spain, of Burgundy, and the low countries,

of Naples and Sicily, of the new empire of the Indies, and the discovery of America by Columbus added, to his many kingdoms, the new world. Since the days of Charlemagne no monarch had swayed a sceptre over such vast dominions.

The Pope, though at first opposed to the elevation of Charles, from the conflicting interests of the Vatican, withdrew his objections, seeing he would be elected ; and Charles was crowned at Aix-la-Chapelle, on the 22nd of October, 1520.

Thus at the early age of nineteen, as **Charles V**, Emperor of Germany, he assumed the imperial power. He is described as a youth of great intelligence, with a strong natural taste for military exercises. He was remarkable for a gravity and sedateness far beyond his years, and most amiable when it suited him. He possessed the subtlety and penetration of the Italian, with the taciturnity and reserve of the Spaniard ; and withal, he was a firm and devoted Catholic. "He was pious and silent," said Luther ; "I will wager that he does not talk so much in a year as I do in a day."

This is the man to whom Luther's case must now be referred. No fitter man could have been found to execute the decrees and do the work of the Vatican. The pious reflections of D'Aubigné on this change of government are worthy of the warm-hearted biographer of Luther. "A new actor was about to appear on the scene. God designed to bring the Wittemberg monk face to face with the most powerful monarch that had appeared in Christendom since the days of Charlemagne. He selected a prince in the vigour of youth, and to whom everything seemed to announce a long reign.... and to him he opposed that lowly Reformation, begun in the secluded cell of a convent at Erfurt, by the anguish and the sighs of a poor monk. The history of this monarch and of his reign was destined, it would seem, to teach the world an important lesson. It was to show the nothingness of all the strength of man when it presumes to measure itself with the weakness of God. If a prince, a friend to Luther, had been called to the imperial throne, the success of the Reformation might have been ascribed to his protection. If even an emperor opposed to the new doctrines, but yet a weak ruler, had worn the diadem, the triumph of this work might have been accounted for by the weakness of the monarch. But it was the haughty conqueror at Pavia who was destined to vail his pride before the power of God's Word ; and the whole world beheld the man who found it an easy task to drag Francis I a prisoner to Madrid, obliged to lower his sword before the son of a poor miner ! " *

* Vol. ii , p. 109. See also Froude's "Short Studies on Great Subjects," vol. i. ; "Universal History," Bagster, vol viii. ; Waddington's "Reformation," vol. i. ; Mosheim, vol. iii.

LUTHER AND THE BULL OF EXCOMMUNICATION.

We return to Luther and the close of the debate at Leipsic. Dr. Eck, the famous Papal theologian, irritated by his defeat, and burning with rage against Luther, hurried away to Rome that he might obtain a bull of excommunication against his opponent. Unable to refute the earnest and fervent appeals of the Reformer to the Word of God, he immediately sought his condemnation and destruction. Such has ever been the way of the emissaries of Rome.

Overcome by the clamorous and the importunate applications of Eck and his friends, especially the Dominicans, Pope Leo, most unwisely, as most think, issued the desired bull on the 15th of June, 1520. Luther's writings were condemned to the flames, and he himself delivered over to Satan as a wicked heretic, unless he recanted and implored the clemency of the Pontiff within sixty days. But the time was past for Luther and his friends to be silenced by ecclesiastical thunders. Had such a thing happened fifty years before, it would have been widely different. But neither Leo, Charles, Henry, nor Francis, knew the state of the public mind in Germany, or the silent but sure effects of the printing press throughout Europe. He who saw Gutenberg pulling at his press, Columbus returning from the discovery of America, Vasco di Gama from having doubled the Cape of Storms, or the learned Greeks scattered over the nations of Europe after the taking of Constantinople by the Turks, saw events which revived learning, which expanded the human mind, and which aroused it from the lethargy into which it had fallen during the long dark night of the middle ages.*

Before **the bull of Leo** reached Wittemberg, the best part of Germany was at heart with Luther, but especially the students, the artisans, and the tradesmen. He saw the ground on which he stood. The decisive step must now be taken. Open war must be proclaimed. He had written the most submissive and pacific letters to the Pope, the cardinals, the bishops, the princes, and the learned men ; he had appealed from the Pontiff to the supreme tribunal of a General Council, but all to no purpose. He now determined to withdraw from the Church of Rome and publicly to resist her authority. On the 10th of December, 1520, at nine in the morning, public notice having been given, Luther took the bull, together with a copy of the Pontifical canon law, and some of the writings of Eck and Emser, and in the presence of a vast crowd of spectators committed them to the flames. This being done without the city walls, Luther re-entered, accompanied by the doctors of the University, the students, and the people. Having thus thrown off the yoke of Rome, he addressed the people as to their duty with great

* James White's "Eighteen Christian Centuries," p. 381.

energy. The public caught his fire, and the whole nation rallied around him. Luther was now set at liberty. The tie which had so long bound him to Rome was broken. From this time he assumed the attitude of an open and uncompromising antagonist of the Pope and of his emissaries. He also published many pamphlets against the Romish system and for the truth of God.

LUTHER AND CHARLES THE FIFTH.

Leo, son of Lorenza the Magnificent, thus defied by Luther, son of the miner of Mansfeld, turned to Charles for help. He reminded the youthful Emperor of the vows he had just taken—as *the advocate and defender of the Church*; and called upon him to inflict due punishment upon that audacious and rebellious monk, Martin Luther. Considerable anxiety prevailed in many quarters as to what would be the policy of the new Emperor. Will he sympathise with the principles of progress which are everywhere at work in literature, politics, and religion? Or will he be the pliant instrument of the Papal power? were questions of great importance at that moment.

Charles was reserved. He had many things in hand. Two years elapsed before he was at leisure to take up the question. The interval was profitably employed by Luther and his friends. During the years 1518-19-20, the numerous pamphlets and expositions of the Word of God which issued from the press had done their work. By the good providence of God, the new opinions were making rapid progress not only in Germany, but in Switzerland, France, and England. The deeply rooted prejudices of many centuries were being overturned in the minds of multitudes in many parts of Europe.

Charles at length found that something more than polemical discussion was required to arrest the progress of a movement which threatened to overthrow the religion of his ancestors and disturb the peace of his Empire. His first diet, or assembly of the States of the German monarchy, was appointed to be held at **Worms.** Before this assembly he cited Luther to appear and answer for his contumacious conduct. The Pope and his party now expected that by fair means or foul, they would certainly get rid of their adversary. But the Elector, knowing the treachery of the ecclesiastics, and suspecting that Luther might meet with the fate of John Huss and Jerome of Prague, when they attended the Council of Constance, would only consent to his subject going to Worms on two conditions: "1, That he should have a safe-conduct under the Emperor's hand and seal; 2, That Luther, if judgment went against him, should be free for the time to return to the place from which he had come; and that he, the Elector, should determine afterwards what should

be done with him." Luther himself was ready to obey the citation when the Elector was satisfied as to his safety.

THE DIET OF WORMS.

A.D. 1521—JANUARY TILL MAY.

The monk of Erfurt, armed with the Word of God, and confidence in the Divine Presence, had put to flight the army of indulgence-sellers, had gained an easy victory over the Pope's legate at Augsburg, and the champions of the Papacy in the halls of Leipsic. He had also replied to the thunders of the Pope by burning his bull at Wittemberg. Rome was paralysed. Her strength was spent. Her threatenings were disregarded. The so-called Church could no longer carry things in the old style. Men had begun to think for themselves, and to think how far such orders should be obeyed. But a good Catholic prince was now on the throne of the Empire, and the final struggle must be with him.

Charles, the faithful servant of St. Peter, opened the diet on the 28th of January, the Festival of Charlemagne. Never before in any age of the world had so many kings, princes, prelates, nobles, and powers of this world, met together in diet. "Electors, dukes, archbishops, landgraves, margraves, counts, bishops, barons, and lords of the realm, as well as the deputies of the towns, and the ambassadors of the kings of Christendom, thronged with their brilliant trains the roads that led to Worms. Great questions, affecting the peace of Europe, of the world, and the triumph of truth, were here to be fully and gravely discussed." But we have chiefly to do with Luther and the Reformation.

Aleander, the Pope's nuncio, a man of great eloquence, addressed the Emperor, the princes, and the deputies for about three hours. He had Luther's books before him and the Papal bulls. He had said all that Rome could say against the books and their author. He maintained that there were errors enough in Luther's writings to burn a **hundred thousand heretics.** The power of his oratory and the enthusiasm of his language produced a deep impression on the assembly. Murmurs soon arose from every quarter against Luther and his partisans. But it is perfectly clear from Aleander's long oration, that his one grand object was to prevent the bold Reformer from being cited to appear. The Papal party dreaded the prominence which would necessarily be given to the new opinions by the presence of Luther in so august an assembly. Leo wrote himself to beg that Luther's safe-conduct should not be observed. The bishops agreed with the Pope that safe-conducts could not protect heretics.

LUTHER'S SUMMONS AND SAFE-CONDUCT.

The young Emperor was encompassed with difficulties. Placed between the Papal nuncio and the Elector, to whom he was indebted for his crown, what must he do? He wished to please both. To spare or to sacrifice a monk was a small consideration with Charles, but not so in the sight of Him who overrules all rulers. Luther must bear witness for the truth of God and against the lie of Satan in that great assembly. The Emperor at length made up his mind. Luther's appearance before the diet seemed the only means likely to terminate an affair which engaged the attention of all the Empire. At last the summons and safe-conduct were sent, and Luther prepared to obey the imperial mandate.

On the 2nd of April, Luther took leave of his friends and began his journey. He rode in a modest conveyance, accompanied by his friends Schurff, Amsdorf, and Sauven; the imperial herald with the safe-conduct rode in front. Luther discovered at every stage of his journey, that gloomy forebodings filled the hearts of all friends. He was warned that "foul play was intended, that he was condemned already, that his books had been burned by the hangman, and that he was a dead man if he proceeded." But Luther, undismayed, replied: "I trust in God Almighty, whose word and commandments I have before me." He preached at several places on his way, and accepted the entertainment of his friends. But as he drew near to Worms, the storm which he had raised became more violent. The enemies of the Reformation were boiling with indignation when they heard he was approaching the city. Spalatin, the Elector's chaplain, and Luther's faithful friend, sent a messenger to meet him with these words, "Do not enter Worms!" But the intrepid monk, full of holy courage, turned his eyes on the messenger, and said, "Tell your master, I will go if there are as many devils in Worms as there are tiles on the roofs of the houses." On the morning of the 16th of April, he discovered the walls of the ancient city. Noblemen of high rank went out to meet him, and more than two thousand accompanied him to his lodgings. From the pavement to the roofs of the houses, every place seemed covered with spectators.

The following day he was conducted to the diet by the marshal of the Empire, Ulrich of Pappenheim. The crowd that filled the streets to see him pass along was so great that it was necessary to lead him through private houses and gardens to the hall of audience. Many of the knights and nobles who thronged the body of the hall spoke encouragingly to Luther as he pressed his way to the council chamber. One, who probably had received the truth and loved the Saviour, reminded him of the Master's words, "When they deliver you up, take no thought how or

what ye shall speak, for it shall be given you in that same hour what ye shall speak." Another, though clad in gleaming armour, touched him on the shoulder with his gauntlet, saying, "Pluck up thy spirit, little monk. Some of us here have seen warm work in our time; but neither I nor any knight in this company ever needed a stout heart more than thou needest it now. If thou hast faith in these doctrines of thine, go on in the Name of God." "Yes, in the Name of God," said Luther, throwing back his head, "in the Name of God forward!"

LUTHER APPEARS BEFORE THE ASSEMBLY.

To one who had been educated and trained amid the retirement of a cloister, the sight of such an assembly must have been overwhelming. There sat Charles, sovereign of half the world. And there on either side of him were ranged the peers and potentates of the German Empire—bishops and archbishops, cardinals in their scarlet robes, Papal nuncios in their official magnificence, ambassadors from the mightiest kingdoms of Christendom, to say nothing of deputies and officials. Such was the assembly of the States-General at Worms. And gathered, the reader may ask, for what? It was really to hear the trial and judge the son of a poor miner. Dressed in his monk's frock and hood, pale-faced and worn with the fatigues and hazards of his recent life, he stood silent and self-possessed in the midst of more than five thousand spectators. "Yet prophet-like that lone one stood, with dauntless words and high," answering all questions with force and modesty.

After a moment of intense stillness, **the Chancellor of Treves** addressed him in a loud voice, first in Latin and then in German: "Martin Luther, you are called upon by his Imperial Majesty to answer two questions: First, do you admit that these books," pointing to about twenty volumes placed on a table, "were written by you? Secondly, are you prepared to retract these books, and their contents, or do you persist in the opinions you have advanced there?" Then Luther replied: That, in respect to the first question, he did undoubtedly acknowledge these books, and would never disclaim any one of them. As to the second, he asked that some further space for consideration might be granted him, that he might so frame his answer as neither to offend the Word of God nor endanger his own soul. One day was granted. Whatever may have been Luther's reason for this request we need not stay to inquire. One thing is certain, that it was overruled by God to discover and reveal the secret springs of Luther's strength and courage, and the strength and courage of faith in all ages. That wonderful prayer which was offered

up shortly before his second appearing is the most precious document in the whole history of the Reformation. We cannot characterise it ; we give it from D'Aubigné's history.

LUTHER'S PRAYER.

For a moment Luther felt troubled ; his eye was off the blessed Lord ; he was thinking of the many great princes before whom he had to stand. His faith grew weak ; he was like Peter when he looked at the waves in place of the Person of Christ ; he felt as if he would sink. In this state of soul he fell on his face and groaned deep thoughts which could not be uttered. It was the Spirit making intercession for him. A friend hearing his distress, listened, and was privileged to hear the broken cries of a broken heart ascending to the throne of God.

"O Almighty and Everlasting God ! How terrible is this world ! Behold, it openeth its mouth to swallow me up, and I have so little trust in Thee ! . . . How weak is the flesh, and Satan how strong ! If it is only in the strength of this world that I must put my trust, all is over ! . . . My last hour is come ; my condemnation has been pronounced ! . . . O God ! O God ! . . . O God ! Do Thou help me against all the wisdom of the world ! Do this ; Thou shouldest do this . . . Thou alone . . . for this is not my work, but Thine. I have nothing to do here, nothing to contend for with these great ones of the world ? I should desire to see my days flow on peaceful and happy. But the cause is Thine . . . And it is a righteous and eternal cause. O Lord ! help me ! Faithful and unchangeable God ! in no man do I place my trust. It would be vain ! All that is of man is uncertain ; all that cometh of man fails. . . . O God ! my God ! hearest Thou me not ? . . . Thou hidest Thyself ! Thou hast chosen me for this work. I know it well ! . . . Act, then, O God ! . . . Stand at my side, for the sake of Thy well-beloved Jesus Christ, who is my defence, my shield, and my strong tower."

After a short time of silent struggling with the Lord, he again broke out in those short, deep, broken utterances, which must be experienced before they can be understood. It is the breaking of the bones of carnal confidence and self-importance ; this is being broken down in the presence of God :

"Lord ! where stayest Thou ? . . . O my God ! where art Thou ? . . . Come ! Come ! I am ready ! . . . I am ready to lay down my life for Thy truth . . . patient as a lamb. For it is the cause of justice—it is Thine ! . . . I will never separate Thyself from me, neither now nor through eternity ! . . . And though the world should be filled with devils . . . though my body, which is still the work of Thy hands, should be slain, be stretched upon the pavement, should be cut in pieces . . . reduced to ashes . . . my soul is Thine ! . . . Yes ! Thy Word is my assurance of it. My soul belongs to Thee ! I

shall abide for ever with Thee . . . Amen . . . O God! help me! . . . Amen."

This prayer explains the state of Luther's mind and the character of his communion with God, better far than any description from the pen of his biographer. Here the living God is qualifying His servant for His work by giving him to taste the bitterness of death (2 Cor. 4. 7-12). Luther was but emerging from the darkness of superstition. He had not fully learnt the blessed truth of death and resurrection, of his oneness with Christ, of his acceptance in the Beloved. But his nearness to God, the power of his prayer, and the reality of his communion, refresh our hearts after an interval of three hundred years.

LUTHER'S SECOND APPEARANCE.

The fruits of his prayer were soon to be seen. Finding himself again standing before Charles, the chancellor began by saying: "Martin Luther, yesterday you begged for a delay, which has now expired . . . Reply, therefore, to the question put by his Majesty. Will you defend your books, or will you retract them?" Luther turned towards the Emperor, and with a serious countenance, wherein modesty, mildness, and firmness, were strikingly blended, he entered fully into the contents of his books. Much that he said must have been very gratifying to the Germans, but most galling to the Romans. Take the following as an example: "In one class of my books I have written against the Papacy and the doctrines of the Papists, as of men who by their iniquitous tenets and examples have desolated the Christian world both with temporal and spiritual calamities. Their false doctrines, their scandalous lives, their evil ways, are known to all mankind. And is it not evident that the human doctrines and laws of the Popes entangle, torment, and grieve the consciences of the faithful, while at the same time the crying and perpetual extortions of Rome swallow up the wealth and the riches of Christendom, and especially of this illustrious nation!" But such explanations of his books were not what the diet required. He was pressed for a distinct avowal of retractation. "Will you or will you not retract?" exclaimed the orator of the diet.

Luther now replied without hesitation. "Since your most serene Majesty and the princes require from me a clear, simple, and precise answer, I will give it thus: I cannot submit my faith either to the Pope or to the councils, because it is as clear as day that they have frequently erred and contradicted each other. Unless therefore I am convinced by the testimony of Scripture, or by the clearest reasoning, and unless they thus render my conscience bound by the Word of God, *I cannot and I will not retract*, for it is unsafe for a Christian to speak against his con-

science." And then, looking round on the assembly—on all that was mighty in power, on all that was venerable for antiquity —he nobly said : " *Here I take my stand ; I cannot do otherwise : may God be my help ! Amen.*"

Astonished at a display of courage and veracity entirely new to them, many of the princes found it difficult to conceal their admiration, while others were utterly confounded. But, as some have said, in these words, in Luther's honest protest, the whole heart and meaning of the Reformation lay. Were men to go on for ever saying that this and that was true, because the Pope affirmed it ? Or were the decrees of Popes and the canons of councils thenceforward to be tried, like the words of other men, by the ordinary laws of evidence, by the infallible standard of the Word of God ? The death-knell of Absolutism was rung.

When Luther had ceased speaking, the chancellor said : " Since you do not retract, the Emperor and the States of the Empire will consider what course they must adopt towards an obstinate heretic. The diet will meet to-morrow morning to hear the Emperor's decision."

The general effect produced on the diet both by the address and the demeanour of Luther was unquestionably favourable to his position. He gave his enemies cause to fear him. In the presence of so many powerful ecclesiastics, who were thirsting for his blood, he feared not to denounce in his usual vigorous style the iniquities of Popery. But what was even more for the cause of Reform, he inspired his friend with his own confidence in the truth. After a night of restless anxiety and discussion by all parties, the morning came, and with it heavy tidings for Luther. The policy of the Vatican prevailed in the councils of Charles. The following edict he presented to the diet :

" Descended from the Christian Emperors of Germany, from the Catholic Kings of Spain, from the Archdukes of Austria, from the Dukes of Burgundy, who have all been renowned as defenders of the Roman faith, I am firmly resolved to imitate the example of my ancestors. A single monk, misled by his own folly, has risen against the faith of Christendom. To stay such impiety, I will sacrifice my kingdoms, my treasures, my friends, my body, my blood, my soul, and my life. I am about to dismiss the **Augustinian Luther,** forbidding him to cause the least disorder amongst the people. I shall then proceed against him and his adherents, as contumacious heretics, by excommunication, by interdict, and by every means calculated to destroy them. I call on the members of the States to behave like faithful Christians."

Severe as this sentence may appear, it was far from satisfying the Papists. They endeavoured to procure the violation of the safe-conduct, and re-enact the tragedy perpetrated by their

ancestors at Constance. "The Rhine," said they, "should receive his ashes as it had received those of John Huss a century ago." But these treacherous suggestions were overthrown by the spirit of national honour which prevailed among the German princes, and which animated the greater part of the diet. There remained now one only hope for the Papal party, and that—we blush to write—assassination. "A plot," says Froude, "was formed to assassinate Luther on his return to Saxony. The insulted majesty of Rome could be vindicated at least by the dagger. But this, too, failed. The Elector heard what was intended. A party of horse, disguised as banditti, waylaid the Reformer upon the road, and carried him off to the Castle of Wartburg, where he remained out of harm's way till the general rising of Germany placed him beyond the reach of danger." *

REFLECTIONS ON THE APPEARANCE OF LUTHER AT WORMS.

That such a thing should have happened at all was of itself a signal victory over the Papacy. His entry into Worms was like **a triumphal procession.** There, although a twice-condemned, excommunicated heretic and cut off from all human society, he is privileged to stand before the most august assembly in the world. The Pope had condemned him to perpetual silence, and he is now invited, in most respectful language, to speak before thousands. And, by the good providence of God, he was permitted to address attentive hearers from all parts of Christendom, at considerable length and with great boldness, yet without interruption and almost without reproof. "An immense revolution," says D'Aubigné, "had thus been effected by Luther's instrumentality. Rome was already descending from her throne, and it was the voice of a monk that caused this humiliation." The mere fact of his trial at Worms announced to the world that the spell of Popery was broken, and that the victory of the Reformation was secured. A poor, persecuted, friendless, solitary monk sets himself against the majesty of the triple crown. The secular arm is called in, but the Emperor refuses to execute the Pope's decree. The ban falls to the ground. A spiritual power superior to both prevails, and the shout of triumph is heard in many lands.

It is perfectly clear that neither Pope, prelate, nor sovereign knew the real condition of the public mind. A generation had grown up to manhood who had been taught by the men of letters to think for themselves, and to have opinions of their own. Luther knew that his own thoughts about Popery and the Word of God were the thoughts of thousands. Nevertheless he stood alone in that assembly as God's witness for the truth. He

* Short Studies on Great Subjects.

maintained the private right of reading and interpreting the Word of God, the duty of submitting to its authority, in the face of the high-handed assumption of both Church and Emperor. Among all the princes present, Luther had not so much as one openly avowed protector, or even a single advocate of any rank or influence, in the assembly. But the God who strengthened Elijah to withstand the priests of Baal on Mount Carmel, and who stood by Paul when he appeared before the nobles and princes of this world, and before Cæsar himself, gave a wisdom and power to the monk of Wittemberg which nothing could overcome, and which made all men to see that true spiritual power and happy liberty were only to be found in a good conscience, through faith in the truth, but more especially through faith in the Lord Jesus Christ, and by the presence and power of the Holy Spirit." *

* "Universal History," Bagster, vol. vii., p. 18; Waddington, vol. i., p. 364; D'Aubigné vol. ii., p. 347. For lengthy details, see Milner, vol. iv.

CHAPTER XXXV

Luther at Wartburg

THE sudden and mysterious disappearance of Luther caused no small anxiety to his friends and triumph to his foes. The most extraordinary rumours were circulated throughout the provinces, so that Luther's name, and character, and works, were more eagerly talked of now than ever. But as secrecy was necessary to his safety, friends as well as enemies were kept for some months uncertain as to the place of his concealment.

Wartburg castle, the place of his captivity, and which he called his "Patmos," had been the ancient and impregnable residence of the langraves of Thuringia, and overlooked, from its mountain situation, the neighbourhood of Eisenach, the place of his mother's nativity, and the scene of his own early education. That no suspicion might be excited as to his real character, he was obliged to throw off his frock and cowl, allow his beard and hair to grow, and assume the attire and the title of a country gentleman—**Squire George.** For the rigid monk, the active Reformer, the daring antagonist of Rome, the change was extreme. He was frequently visited with severe attacks of bodily illness and mental distress. In some of his letters, dated from the Isle of Patmos, he complains bitterly of the indolent habits he was contracting, and the consequences of his sumptuous fare. But though he was cut off from his public labours in the university and the pulpit, he was most diligent with his pen. His enemies thought him a great deal too active in his retreat. He laboured with indefatigable industry, and published many new books. It was in this retirement that he commenced the greatest and the most useful of all his works—the translation of the Bible into the German language. During his solitude, in the summer months of 1521, he actually finished the New Testament; and he also took great pains to improve his knowledge of the Greek and Hebrew languages, for the purpose of rendering his intended version of the whole Bible more complete.

REFLECTIONS ON LUTHER'S CAPTIVITY.

Here we may pause a moment, and learn a useful lesson. Like a chained eagle, Luther sits all day in the midst of the dark forests of Thuringia, gloomily brooding over the degraded state of the church and clergy, and violently agitated as to the results of the diet of Worms, the welfare of his friends, and the progress of truth. The chain galls him; he has not accepted it from the Lord; his health suffers; he passes whole nights without sleep;

the **melancholy tendencies** of his mind increase, and he imagines that he is incessantly assaulted by Satan. "Believe me," he writes, "I am delivered over to a thousand imps of Satan in this solitude; and it is much easier to contend with incarnate fiends—that is, men—than with wicked spirits in high places." He longs to be at liberty, and to stand in the front of the battle; and, fearing lest he should be accused of deserting the field, he exclaimed, "I would rather be stretched on coals of fire than lie here half dead." And all mankind would say, "a crisis has come; the active efforts, the resistless appeals of Luther are more needful now than ever. For if the leader of this mighty movement be constrained to retire at such a moment, the cause of truth must suffer, and its enemies triumph. But in spite of all human reasoning, the Master says, No. My ways are not as your ways, nor My thoughts as your thoughts. The captivity of My servant shall be the liberty of millions." And so it proved. No event in his history tended so much to enrich his mind, or mature his views as to the nature and extent of the reform which the condition of things around required, besides the books which he wrote, and the Scriptures which he translated. May we learn to bow, well-pleased, when the Master's orders are to be quiet, as well as when He says, Go forth and serve in the field to which I have called you, and for which I have fitted you. Moses in Midian, Paul in Arabia, and John in Patmos, are Divine lessons for all the Lord's servants.

LUTHER RETURNS TO WITTEMBERG.

During his absence at the Wartburg there was found no one among his followers who was properly qualified to maintain the reformed doctrines, or direct the reformed community. The mild and peaceful scholar, **Philip Melanchthon,** had a gentle and fruitful mind well fitted to enrich others, but unsuited for the tumult and the storm of republican notions, combined with religious fanaticism. **Andrew Carlstadt,** a doctor of Wittemberg, an early friend of Luther, and by no means ignorant of the truth, was induced to head a few fanatical persons who fancied they were in immediate communication with Deity, and arrogated to themselves the title of prophets and apostles. Their numbers increased; youths from the university joined them. They denounced Luther's attempt at Reformation to be neither sufficiently extensive, nor thorough. In their extravagant enthusiasm, they proclaimed, "Woe! woe! woe!" to the false Church and corrupt bishops. They entered Churches, broke and burnt images, and proceeded to other excesses, which endangered the dawn of liberty and the peace of the commonwealth. The civil authorities interfered, and several of the zealots were cast into prison.

The cry for Luther was universal. He heard it at Wartburg. Without the consent of the Elector, and with much danger to his life, he hastened to the scene of confusion. Among the names who have obtained a memorial in history by this folly, we are most familiar with Nicholas Stork, Mark Stubner, Martin Cellary, and Thomas Munzer. The latter—**Munzer**—appears again in 1525, at the head of a rebellion of the peasants, which was called the peasants' war.

Luther returned from his Patmos to Wittemberg in the month of March, 1522. He was received by doctors, students, and citizens, with sincere demonstrations of joy and affection. His triumph was easy, but all by moral power. "I will preach," he said, "I will speak, I will write ; but I will constrain none, for faith is a voluntary act. I stood up against the Pope, indulgences, and Papists, but without violence or tumult. I put forward God's Word, I preached and wrote—this was all I did.' He ascended the pulpit, and his powerful voice resounded once more through the agitated multitudes. On seven following days he delivered seven sermons. "They were followed by the most complete success," says the historian. "Every symptom of disorder immediately disappeared ; the city was restored to its former tranquillity, the university to its legitimate studies and rational principles ; and Carlstadt, the unfortunate author of the confusion, overwhelmed by the predominance of a superior genius, withdrew not long afterwards from the field of his disgrace." Luther was greatly opposed to violence. His fine principle was : Before you can advantageously remove the objects of idolatry, such as images, you must first remove the errors from the mind of the worshippers. And this he sincerely believed could only be done by the Word of God, which he longed to present to his nation in their own forcible tongue.

LUTHER AND THE GERMAN BIBLE.

When peace was established he turned to his favourite object—the translation of the New Testament ; and after it had undergone the more critical revision of Melanchthon, he published it in the September of 1522. The appearance of such a work, and at a time when the minds of all men were in a most excited condition, produced, as might be supposed, the most extraordinary effects. As if carried on the wings of the wind, it spread from one end of Germany to the other, and to many other countries. "It is written," according to D'Aubigné, "in the very tone of the Holy Writings, in a language yet in its youthful vigour, and which for the first time displayed its great beauties ; it interested, charmed, and moved the lowest as well as the highest ranks." Even the Papal historian, Maimbourg, confesses that "**Luther's translation** was remarkably elegant, and in general so much

approved, that it was read by almost everybody throughout Germany. Women of the first distinction studied it with the most industrious and persevering attention, and obstinately defended the tenets of the Reformer against bishops, monks, and Catholic doctors." It was a national book. It was the book of the people—the Book of God. This work served more than all Luther's writings to the spread and consolidation of the reformed doctrines. The Reformation was now placed on its own proper foundation—the Word of God, which liveth and abideth for ever.

The following statistics show the wonderful success of the work : " A second edition appeared in the month of December ; and by 1533 seventeen editions had been printed at Wittemberg, thirteen at Augsburg, twelve at Basle, one at Erfurt, one at Grimma, one at Leipsic, and thirteen at Strasburg."

Meanwhile Luther proceeded in the accomplishment of his great work—the translation of the Old Testament. With the assistance of Melanchthon and other friends, the work was published in parts as they were finished, and wholly completed in the year 1530. Luther's great work was now done. Hitherto he had spoken, but now God Himself was to speak to the hearts and consciences of men. Vast, wonderful, mighty thought ! The Divine testimonies of truth presented to a great nation, which had hitherto been " perishing for lack of knowledge." The Divine Word no longer to be concealed under an unknown tongue ; the way of peace no longer to be obscured by the traditions of men ; and the testimony of God Himself concerning Christ and salvation rescued from the superstitions of the Romish system.

THE GENERAL PROGRESS OF THE REFORMATION.

The mighty movement on which we have now entered knew no limit, no end. The awakening in the German empire, the revival of the Gospel, and the rising interests of the Reformation, had deeply affected the general state of Europe. Sweden, Denmark, Holland, Switzerland, Belgium, Italy, Spain, France, and the British Isles, were drawn into the stream of the great religious revolution. It soon ceased to be a merely local, or even a national question ; it became the great overwhelming topic of the time. Every government found that the Reformation formed part of its scheme and policy, willingly or unwillingly, and that the constitutions of the most ancient kingdoms were shaken by this new contest about religion.

Men were passing to and fro, and ever carrying fresh tidings of the wonderful things that were being done. Vessels were arriving at all harbours, and secretly discharging packages of new translations, and of the pamphlets and sermons of the

Reformers. The interest became universal. But it was not to be expected that the old Church, when backed by the civil power, would allow the new opinions to grow up in her very bosom without a struggle to crush them. Nevertheless, earnest-minded men, seeing that a Reformation was needed, and quite unable to stifle their convictions, preached Christ boldly. Some true, honest hearts were found in those sifting times beneath the monkish gown, men who dared to preach Christ as the end of the law for righteousness to every one that believeth—that God only could forgive sins through faith in the precious blood of Christ. The clergy, perceiving that such doctrines were destructive of their power, their privileges, their very existence, raised the loud cry of "*Heresy*! *Heresy*!" Church excommunications were followed by royal edicts; persecution was waged against the preachers, apprehensions became frequent, the torture was applied, the flames were kindled, and from this time the thrilling stories of Protestant martyrs and martyrdoms begin. For a time bigotry triumphs, the godly suffer, but the power of the Lord and His truth mightily prevail.

But out on these troubled waters we cannot venture at present. We must return for a short time to Germany, and witness the rise of **Protestantism,** which gave a new direction to the spiritual history of mankind.

THE REFORMATION AND HENRY THE EIGHTH.

The rapid diffusion of Luther's New Testament, and the immense effect which it produced in the homes of the people, awakened the deepest apprehensions of the Papal party. The temporal power, influenced by the ecclesiastics, prohibited, under the most severe penalties, the circulation of the condemned book. One of the greatest kings of Christendom now rose up against the audacious monk of Wittemberg. **Henry VIII** of England, who had been destined by his father for the Church, thought the present a good opportunity to show his talent, and wrote a book on the seven sacraments, in answer to Luther's treatise on the "Babylonish Captivity." None of the Reformer's compositions so excited the indignation of the Papists as his "Babylonish Captivity." Need we wonder, then, that such an advocate was flattered and caressed by the Pope, and complimented with the name, "**Defender of the Faith,**" which is still one of the titles of the English crown? In reply to his royal assailant, Luther was not remarkable for his moderation, but betrayed by his irritable temper to use an abusive style of language which would have been better repressed.

Toward the close of the year 1521, an important change took place in the policy of the Vatican. Pope Leo died. Yes, the brilliant but notoriously immoral Leo died—died, no longer to

judge, but to be judged ; no longer to roll out his thunders against heretics, but to be himself measured by the standard of eternal truth, and weighed in the balances of the sanctuary. He died denouncing the doctrine of justification by faith, as destructive of all moral obligations, while he and his dissolute cardinals were dissipating their time and health in prodigal and luxurious pleasures, and in promoting expensive and licentious spectacles at the theatre. He was succeeded by **Adrian VI,** a man more rigid in his morals than Leo, but no less opposed to the truth of the Gospel.

LUTHERAN CHURCHES.

Soon after Luther's return from Wartburg, the States of the Empire assembled in **Diet at Nuremberg.** The bishops, who formed a numerous portion of the assembly, called loudly for the execution of the sentence which had been given against the arch-heretic. But after some altercation, and without coming to any agreement, the diet was adjourned till the autumn following.

Meanwhile the Reformer, in open defiance of the Papal excommunication and the imperial edict, was going on steadily with his own proper work, preaching and writing, and Melanchthon with his theology. It may be justly said of this period that "the Word of God mightily grew and prevailed." Monks left their monasteries and became active instruments in propagating the Gospel ; and Luther mentions, in a letter to Spalatin, the escape of nine nuns from their convents, among whom he speaks of Catherine von Bora, who afterwards became his wife. New services of worship were being gradually introduced into what were now termed Lutheran Churches, but with great delicacy and tenderness. As a wise man, Luther exercised great patience towards those who were but creeping slowly out of the old system into the new. After his noble stand at Worms, he appears very little in what we may call the outworks of the Reformation. There he witnessed for God and His truth as few men have ever done. There is a grandeur and a moral sublimity in his position on that occasion which stands alone in his history. The true moral glory of the Reformation declines from that moment. The political element enters, and soon predominates. The outward aggressive action and the protection of the reformed Churches fall into the hands of the temporal princes. This was the failure, the sad failure, the original sin, of the Reformers. But we shall see it more fully when we examine the Epistle to Sardis.

The attention of the new Pope, Adrian VI, had been turned to the affair of Luther, and to the restoration of the peace of the Church. He professed to lament the great abuses of the Papal See under his predecessor, and decided on adopting a different

line of policy. On the 25th of November, 1522, he addressed a "Brief" to the diet reassembled at Nuremberg. He deplored the ravages of the Church through the perversity of a heretic, whom neither the paternal admonition of Leo nor his condemnation, confirmed by the edict of Worms, had been able to silence. He entreated the sovereigns to have recourse to the sword. He reminded them how God had punished Dathan and Abiram for their resistance to the high priest, and pressed upon them the noble example of their pious ancestors, who had, by an act of perfect justice, delivered the world from the heretics, Huss and Jerome, who were even at this moment revived in Luther.

"THE HUNDRED GRIEVANCES."

The Papal party rose up in a body and shouted for vengeance on Luther; but the great body of the temporal princes judged rather that the moment had arrived when they might shake off the burden and the bondage of Rome under which they had so long groaned, and of which they had so often complained, but to no good purpose. Thus it was that, while contending for the doctrines of the Reformation, they prepared the memorial of "**The Hundred Grievances,**" so celebrated in the annals of Germany.

The contrast between the temporal and the spiritual elements now became manifest in the great Reformation movement, though acting together for the humiliation and overthrow of the universal oppressor. It was no longer the friendless, the single handed monk meeting, in the power of God and His truth, the Goliath of Popery, or the peaceful triumphs of Worms; but angry, political strife, and military enterprise. The light and truth of God in connection with the Reformation seem to have been arrested at this period of its history. We fail to discover any advancement in the farther apprehension of truth by the Reformers from the time that the princes came forward to extend it by the sword. Though Luther was a man of the most genuine faith, he failed to see the effects of the co-operation of the princes for their own selfish ends. But it wrought a spiritual blight on the results and triumphs of faith.

The "Grievances" need not be enumerated here. They were chiefly of an ecclesiastical character, and such as all other nations in Christendom groaned under. Oppressive taxation, perpetual levies of tenths under false pretences, the intrusion of cardinals into the best benefices, the ignorance and entire incapacity of the resident pastors, the pernicious superabundance of festivals, the profusion of absolutions and indulgences, the exactions of the clergy for the administration of the sacrament; indeed the universal venality of things sacred, and the general immorality of the spiritual order. "But though the object of

the princes," says Waddington, "was no more than to reform the externals of the Church, while that of Luther was to regenerate the religion at any peril to the Church, yet the diversity of their views might not at the moment be perceptible to either, through the ardour of a common hatred, and, to a certain extent, a common cause." * Nevertheless, we may add, the results were ruinous to the progress of light and truth.

EVENTS ADVERSE TO THE REFORMATION.

While the Reformation, through the instrumentality of Luther, was gathering strength, and spreading rapidly in all parts of Europe, several evils arose to retard its progress and disgrace its character.

In the autumn of 1524, the **German peasants,** long oppressed by the exhausting, consuming, system of Popery, rose in rebellion against their ecclesiastical tyrants. Besides the pomp and luxury of the higher clergy, the whole swarm of inferior clergy was likewise to be supported. But this was not all; new orders were perpetually rising up, and the old mendicants spread like locusts over the whole surface of the country, and devoured with impunity the substance of the people. There had long been deep murmurings and partial outbreaks, but the universal excitement of the moment seemed to give the signal for a general rising. Nearly all the provinces in Upper Germany were in a state of insurrection. Like some sudden tornado, they fell on the religious houses, plundered monasteries, demolished images, and were guilty of other similar excesses. As was usual in those times, the spiritual nobles and the locust friars had given the greatest provocation to revolt, so they were the first against whom the torrent of popular indignation was directed.

The greatest part of this furious rabble consisted of peasants, and hence the calamity has been called the *war of the peasants.* The sedition, at its commencement, was altogether of a civil nature, for these poor peasants only wished to be relieved from some part of their burdens, and to enjoy greater freedom. But some pernicious fanatics joined them, and turned it into a religious and holy war. The storm raged violently for some time, but, as usual, it passed off in the defeat and slaughter of the insurgents. In the unfortunate battle of the peasants with the army of the German princes, at Mulhausen, 1525, **Thomas Munzer,** their principal leader, was taken prisoner and publicly executed.

The Papists and the enemies of the Reformation endeavoured to identify these wild tumults with the principles of Luther, but entirely without ground. They were unconnected with his followers, and not directly occasioned by his writings.

* Dean Waddington, vol. ii., pp. 43-45.

THE ANABAPTISTS.

After the death of Munzer and the destruction or dispersion of the peasants, another sect arose, usually called **Anabaptists,** because they immersed all their converts after they had been already christened. This sect greatly troubled and perplexed the Reformers. What the Gnostics were to the Fathers, what the Manicheans were to the Catholics, such were the Anabaptists to the Reformers. They were purely fanatical. "The leaders claimed the gift of immediate inspiration, the privilege of direct and frequent intercourse with the Deity; and their deluded followers believed them. They had their visions and revelations of the past and the future; their numbers increased with great rapidity, and they followed everywhere in the train of the Reformation." Everywhere it was the cry of these enthusiasts: "No tribute, no tithes, all things in common, no magistrates; the Kingdom of Christ is at hand, the baptism of infants is an invention of the Devil." They sorely tried the spirit of Luther, as they spoke of themselves as the true and thorough Reformers. He observed concerning them: "Satan rages; the new sectarians called Anabaptists increase in numbers, and display great external appearances of strictness of life, as also great boldness in death, whether they suffer by fire or by water."

In the course of two years these fanatics had spread in considerable numbers over Silesia, Bavaria, Swabia, and Switzerland. But as some of their principles tended to the overthrow of social order, political decrees were issued against them. Persecution began, and as both the Saxon and the Swiss Reformers were opposed to them, they were everywhere visited by the civil power with the greatest severities. But they bore their sufferings with unconquerable fortitude. Neither sword, nor fire, nor gibbet, moved them to retractation or the show of fear. With the capture and the execution of their leaders at Munster, in 1536, the sect seems to have been suppressed.

THE SACRAMENTARIAN QUESTION.

In the same year that the Anabaptists made their appearance (1524), a long and pernicious controversy arose among those who had withdrawn from the Romish communion, respecting the manner in which the body and blood of Christ are present in the sacred supper. Luther and his adherents, while they renounced the Papal error of **transubstantiation**—that the bread and wine after consecration remained no longer, but were transmuted into the body and blood of Christ—yet did maintain that persons coming to the sacred supper participated truly of the body and blood of Christ, together with the bread and wine. This doctrine gave rise to the term, **consubstantiation.** Ulric Zwingle, the Swiss Reformer, and his adherents were much more

simple, being more fully delivered from the traditions of Rome. They maintained that the body and blood of the Lord are not present in the holy supper, but that the bread and the wine are merely symbols or emblems by which people should be moved to remember the death of Christ, and the blessing flowing therefrom.

As nearly all the Swiss divines, and not a few in Upper Germany, followed the teaching of Zwingle, and Luther and his friends contended strenuously for his doctrine, great disunion was created among the true friends of the Reformation, which was artfully fomented by the Papists. But more of this afterwards, if the Lord will. We now turn to the

POLITICAL CHIEFS OF THE REFORMATION.

The troubled state of the European nations, the frequent wars between Charles V and Francis I, and the threatening attitude of the Turks, so occupied and perplexed the Emperor, that during several years he could not give much attention to the concerns of Germany, and especially to the difficult subject, the new heresy. In all this the hand of the Lord is most manifest. While Charles was keeping vigilant watch over his French, Spanish, and Italian affairs, Luther and his associates, by their writings, lectures, and admonitions, were spreading the truth, and deepening its hold on the hearts of the common people ; and the political chiefs, or evangelical princes, were drawing closer and closer together for the defence of their faith and their political liberty.

The perfidious Pope, **Clement VI,** and his able nuncio, **Campeggio,** were determined to have the edict of Worms enforced and the complete extirpation of the Lutheran heresy. But this could not be done without the co-operation of powerful sovereigns. Charles had been slow in obeying Papal orders. But a variety of circumstances seemed to combine at this moment which favoured the policy of the Vatican, and threatened to extinguish the infant Reformation. But God is above all. " The kings of the earth set themselves, and the rulers take council together, against the Lord, and against His anointed, saying, Let us break their bands asunder, and cast away their cords from us. He that sitteth in the Heavens shall laugh : the Lord shall have them in derision " (Psa. 2. 2-4). The sword of the Emperor that was whetted for the slaughter of the Reformers, was turned through the treachery of the Pope against Rome itself. Thus it happened :

At the battle of Pavia, in 1526, Francis I was vanquished by Charles V and made his prisoner. As the captive King of France could be of no further service to the Pope, he immediately transferred his friendship to his conqueror. An alliance was

formed with the Emperor, the King of England, and the Archduke Ferdinand. The principal articles of this treaty were : "That all parties should unite their forces and march in arms against the disturbers of the Catholic religion and the insulters of the Pope, and avenge every outrage committed against the See of Rome." By the craft of Satan, the same spirit prevailed in other negotiations of the great powers at this same moment. The treaty of Madrid, which restored Francis to liberty, provided that he should join the alliance. The three most powerful princes of Europe were now in association with the Pope for the express purpose of executing the decrees of Worms, and for the extermination by fire and sword of the Lutheran confederacy.

THE FIRST DIET OF SPIRES.

The Diet of Spires, which was opened in June, 1526, was to strike the decisive blow. Ferdinand, the Emperor's brother, presided. The oft-repeated imperial message to the diet was read. It demanded that all contentions respecting religious subjects should cease ; that the Church customs should be maintained entire ; that the edict of Worms should be speedily executed, and that the Lutherans should be forcibly destroyed. The princes of Germany, from not only a common object, but a common danger, drew closer together. The chief of these were : John, Elector of Saxony ; Philip, Landgrave of Hesse ; the Archduke of Prussia ; George and Casimir, Margraves of Bradenburg ; the Elector Palatine ; the Dukes of Lunenburg, Pomerania, and Mecklenburg ; and the Princes of Anhalt and Henneberg They met in conference and passed the following resolution :

"That they would use their utmost exertions to advance the glory of God, and to maintain a doctrine in conformity with His Word, rendering thanks to Him for having revived in their time the true doctrine of justification by faith, which had been long buried under a mass of superstition ; and that they would not permit the extinction of the truth, which God had so lately revealed to them."

This is the **virgin resolution** of the princes, and the simplest and purest they ever promulgated. There is nothing political, social, or financial here. The firmness of the evangelical party, their refusing to obey the edict of the Emperor, astonished the Papists. But a voice from Him who is above all and over all, brought the discussions of the diet to a speedy termination. Ambassadors arrived from the King of Hungary, representing the calamities with which that country was overwhelmed, and the danger which threatened all Europe from the triumphant progress of the Turks. This drew the attention of Ferdinand off Luther, and hurried him to his own dominions which lay in that quarter.

What the victorious arms of Solyman accomplished in the case of Ferdinand, the treachery of Clement did in the case of Charles. Scarcely had Francis I escaped from his captivity, when the Pope, dreading the power of Charles in Italy, entered into an alliance with the French, the Duke of Milan, and the Venetians, against Charles. At the same time he absolved Francis from his oath, and authorised the violation of the Treaty of Madrid. This so inflamed the resentment of the Emperor, that he abolished the Pontifical authority throughout Spain, made war upon the Pope in Italy, captured the city by his general, Charles of Bourbon ; which was given up to all the horrors of a sack. The life and property of Rome were in the hands of the infuriated German and Spanish soldiers. The Pope himself was treated with much personal abuse and indignity. There are few passages in history in which the overruling hand of a retributive Providence is more plainly manifested.

In the midst of these perplexities, a resolution was duly passed, which turned out most favourable for the Reformers. It was to this effect : " That a petition should be presented to the Emperor, urging him to call a free council without delay ; and that in the meantime every one should be at liberty to manage the religious concerns of his own territory, in the manner he saw fit, yet under a due sense of his accountability to God and to the Emperor."

The Reformers, returning home, diligently improved this opportunity for strengthening and extending the cause of reform. Great changes were effected in their forms of worship and in the regulation of their religious affairs ; and many inveterate superstitions were expelled. The princes and the people became more and more declared ; and the foundation of the future division into Catholic and Protestant States, was laid in the history of the Reformation from 1526 to 1529.

THE SECOND DIET OF SPIRES.

In the early spring of 1529, the Emperor called the famous Second Diet of Spires. The States of the Empire assembled with great readiness. " The Papal party especially mustered all their forces and assumed a warlike and insulting attitude. Never on any like occasion had there appeared so large an assemblage of spiritual nobles ; and these more than any betrayed by their looks and manners the malignity of their designs. One or two princes, who had hitherto been considered neutral or even favourable to the Reformation, now declared against it. Others came, attended by considerable escorts of cavalry, breathing hatred and defiance. Nothing less was meditated than the immediate extinction of the heresy by the sword."

The imperial message assumed a high and despotic tone. The Emperor complained of the changes in religion, and the dis-

respect which had been shown to his own authority : for he claimed to be the chief of the Christian world, and demanded unreserved obedience to his decrees. He observed that the religious innovations which he had proscribed were daily increasing in numbers, and that, too, under the pretext of the edict of Spires in 1526, which edict, by virtue of his absolute power, he abrogated as in direct opposition to his orders.

The decree of the Emperor was highly offensive and grievous to the German nobles. It struck at the very root of their privileges and their independence. The evangelical princes and the deputies of the free cities took up a strong but a just position. They affirmed that the edict of Spires had been drawn up according to the usual forms ; that the commissioners to the Emperor had consented to it in his name ; that it was the legal act of the whole body of the Republic ; and that it was beyond the imperial power to annul it.

THE PROTEST.

The discussions which arose on this subject were long and often furious. The Catholics had their most able and artful disputants present, such as the celebrated **Eck.** To the oft-repeated cry, " The execution of the edict of Worms," was now added, " The abrogation of the edict of Spires." But the Reformers were firm and united, and they reasoned with great justice. At length, Ferdinand, who presided in the diet, demanded with an imperious tone, the unconditional submission of the German princes to the decision of the assembly. *The Reformers protested.* This was on the 19th of April, 1529. That simple act being disregarded by the Papist, the Reformers presented on the following day, in writing, a second and more elaborate remonstrance, and appealed to the Emperor and a future council. On that account the Reformers received the designation of **The Protestants.** This is the origin of the term which is now used to denote all those numerous Churches and sects which protest on principle against the doctrines, rites, and ceremonies of the Church of Rome.

This noble manifesto, which no doubt perplexed the Papal party by its firmness and its justice, was signed by John, Elector of Saxony, Philip, Langrave of Hesse, George of Bradenburg, Ernest and Francis of Lunenberg, Wolffgang of Anhalt, and by the deputies of fourteen imperial cities. But the signatures of no theologians, no doctors of divinity, no university professors, appear. The great Reformation, or religious revolution, has passed into the hands of the powers of this world. There was no Luther at Spires, as at Worms. Still, both he and his friends were labouring in their studies, their pulpits, their universities, for the peaceful progress of the Word of God, and the triumphs

of the Gospel of His grace. And the Lord knows how to estimate and reward the labours of His servants. "Therefore judge nothing before the time, until the Lord come, who both will bring to light the hidden things of darkness, and will make manifest the counsels of the hearts : and then shall every man have praise of God " (1 Cor. 4. 5).

Here **Papal Christianity** receives its deadly wound. The reign of Jezebel, as to her absolute authority, is now judged an intolerable tyranny. The Teutonic mind, which never entirely threw off its native independence, now throws off the galling yoke of Rome. Historically the Thyatiran period closes here. The Protestant period commences, as shadowed forth in the Epistles to Sardis, Philadelphia, and Laodicea, though all four run on to the end. Then every true Christian in all the different systems in Christendom will be caught up to meet the Lord in the air ; and in due time come *with Him* in full manifested glory ; when Divine judgment will be executed on a ripened apostasy.

CHAPTER XXXVI

Protestantism

THE *Protest* of the Reformers at the second Diet of Spires, in 1529, forms a distinct epoch in the history of the Reformation and of the Church. At the same time, we must bear in mind that **Protestantism** is not a novelty. The antiquity of the Roman Catholic religion is one of the vain boasts of her advocates. Popery, they say, is the offspring of antiquity ; but Protestantism is the child of yesterday—of Luther and Calvin. The term, we may admit, in its acceptation in the sixteenth century was a novelty, but not that which it represented. The truth of God and its authority over the conscience were what the Protestants contended for. In this sense, Protestantism is as old as Christianity ; and has always existed, though overlaid, from the time of Constantine to the sixteenth century, by a mass of error and ever accumulating superstitions.

During this dark and dreary period we have many Protestants. Despotism and error reigned, the faithful and the truth of God existing, necessarily brought out the principles of Protestantism. Besides the Paulicians, the Nestorians, and the Armenians in the East, we have our well-known friends in the West—the Waldenses, the Albigenses, the Wycliffites, and the Bohemians. There were others distinguished by various appellations, such as the Cathari, Leonists, etc.; but these were the four great branches of the noble stock of witnesses for Christ and His Gospel ; and though called by different names, they had one common origin and one common faith.

The Protestantism with which we have now to do, *historically*, dates from the second **Diet of Spires,** 1529. Then it drew its first breath. But in a short time it was embodied in the national constitution of Germany, and stood armed in defence, if needed, of religion and liberty. This was Protestantism in its political form, which alas ! savoured not of Christianity, or of the Church of God, the body of Christ.

But here we must pause for a little, and meditate on the Lord's address to the Church in **Sardis.** The commencement of the Protestant part of Christendom is the right moment to introduce it. There we have the estimate, not of the partial or prejudiced pen of the historian, but of the Lord Himself. This is deeply solemn, but unspeakably precious. May He give us to see His own mind on this great subject !

THE EPISTLE TO THE CHURCH IN SARDIS.

"And unto the angel of the Church in Sardis write: These things saith He that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars; I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest and art dead. Be watchful, and strengthen the things which remain, that are ready to die: for I have not found thy works perfect before God. Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast, and repent. If therefore, thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee. Thou hast a few names even in Sardis which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with Me in white: for they are worthy. He that overcometh, the same shall be clothed in white raiment; and I will not blot out his name out of the book of life, but I will confess his name before My Father, and before His angels. He that hath an ear, let him hear what the Spirit saith unto the Churches" (Rev. 3. 1-6).

We have seen the general state and the active agencies of Popery during the middle ages: we have now to contemplate an entirely new period of the history of the Church, and a new order of things as the result of the great Reformation. Many of the moral features of the former periods no doubt exist in Sardis, but its character is sufficiently distinct to mark it as a fresh epoch in ecclesiastical and civil history.

The first four Churches which we have looked at describe the state of things before the Reformation; the last three represent the general aspect of the professing body after the days of Luther. But we must be careful to distinguish between that positive work of the Spirit of God by means of the reformers, and that lifeless formalism which so soon appeared in the Lutheran and reformed Churches, and which too plainly corresponds with the sad condition of Sardis. Scarcely had they tasted the blessings of deliverance from the oppression of Rome when they fell into a state of bondage to the governments of the world, and consequently, a state of spiritual deadness. The Lord Jesus touchingly refers to the same state of things in His address: "I know thy works, that thou hast a name that thou livest, and art dead." This is the condition of that which is known as *Protestantism*, after the days of the first reformers. True Christians, of course, are not dead, their "life is hid with Christ in God," but the systems they are in, the Lord here declares to be without vitality. An orthodox creed, outward correctness, a name to live, the unclean spirit of Popery gone out, the house swept and garnished, characterises Protestantism; but—that awful word from the lips of Jesus—*thou art dead*, stamps its real character as seen by Him.

But a glance at the different parts of the Epistle to Sardis will

enable us to understand more fully the Lord's estimate of the various **Protestant systems** by which we are surrounded.

1. As usual in these epistles, the character which the Lord takes is divinely suited to the condition of those whom He is addressing. "These things saith He that hath the seven Spirits of God, and the seven stars." Here the Lord presents Himself as having for faith, all the fulness of the Holy Spirit, and all authority in government, seven being the symbol of perfection. And this plenitude of spiritual blessing which is in Christ and at His disposal, remains for ever unaltered by the failure or outward ruin of the Church, so that both the body corporate, and individual Christians are without excuse if they flee for help to mere human resources.

But alas! this was the very snare into which the reformers fell. It happened in this way, and as we still see around us the effects of that mistake, we shall do well to examine it carefully.

2. The two things—the spiritual and the ecclesiastical—which we here see united in Christ, were separated by the reformers. This was the great error of the Reformation. They never saw or understood this truth. In their anxiety to obtain complete deliverance from the threatening power of the Pope, backed by Catholic princes, the reformers placed themselves under the protection of the Protestant princes. This was their failure; and from the first **Diet of Spires** in 1526, they almost disappear from the notice of history. They overlooked the grand truth, that all needed power for the Church, both inward and outward, spiritual and governmental, dwells in the Head, and that neither the tyranny of Rome, nor the feebleness of a few reformers weaken in the least this blessed reality.

3. In the **old Catholic system,** salvation was made a question, not merely of faith in Christ Jesus, but of Church privilege. Every blessing was made to depend on connection with the Church of Rome. There was no pardon of sin, no peace with God, no eternal life in Christ, no salvation for the soul, outside of her communion. It was this daring blasphemous dogma that gave her such enormous power during the dark ages, and which made her excommunications the most insupportable inflictions that could possibly be laid on either persons or nations. When the Church uttered her voice of censure, the victim of her thunders knew no power of resistance. There was not a man, from the haughtiest monarch to the meanest subject, that did not tremble where the bolt fell. War, famine, pestilence, were tolerable, being temporal calamities; but the Pope's curse blasted the soul for ever, and doomed it to an endless Hell. No matter how genuine a man's faith and piety might be, if he did not belong to the holy Catholic Church, and enjoy the benefit

of her sacraments, salvation was impossible. This fearful doctrine, which was then believed, made the Church everything—teacher, lawgiver, saviour—and fellowship with her the only way to Heaven, whatever the individual character might be. She also claimed the privilege of saying who were to be called saints and who were not ; who were to go direct to Heaven after death, and who were to go to Purgatory, and how long they were to be detained there. Every man's place and importance, both in time and in eternity, could only be settled by that which called itself the Church, the spouse of Christ.

But this monstrous evil which was concealed for centuries in the most congenial darkness, was brought to light at the Reformation. The ripened mass of corruption could escape the execration of mankind no longer. Many rose up in rebellion against it, declared the whole system of Popery to be the lie of Satan, and the protest of Luther to be the truth of God. But the reformers, in place of trusting in Christ who presents Himself to faith as superior to all circumstances, and making Him their refuge and strength, fell into the snare of looking to the civil magistrate.

"Thus Protestantism was always wrong, **ecclesiastically**, because it looked up to the civil ruler as the one in whose hand ecclesiastical authority was vested ; so that if the Church had been, under Popery, the ruler of the world, the world now became, in Protestantism, the ruler of the Church . . . Sardis describes what followed the Reformation, when the glow and fervour of truth and the first flush of blessing had passed away, and a cold formalism had set in . . . In Protestant lands, there has always been a measure of liberty of conscience. But the object of God is not merely to deliver either from gross evils, or from mere details, but that the soul should be right with God, and should allow the Lord to have His way and glory—liberty for the Lord to work by the Holy Ghost according to *His* will. When He is allowed His right place, there is the blessed fruit of it in love and holy liberty. It is not a human liberty derived from the power of the world that we want—though God forbid that we should speak a word against the powers that be, in their own sphere—but the liberty of the Holy Ghost. It is the sin of Christians to have put the powers that be in a false position. The Lord Jesus touches the root of the whole matter in the way He presents Himself to the Church of Sardis. Whether it is spiritual power or the outward authority flowing from it, the Lord claims it all as belonging to Himself . . . When there is faith to look to Him in His place as Head of the Church, He will assuredly supply every need. If He listens to the simplest cry of His lambs, does He not enter into the deeper need of His Church, which is always His most beloved object ? He took His Headship of the Church

only in heavenly glory, and He went there not merely to *be*, but to *act*, as the Head." *

4. In renouncing the errors of Popery with reference to the power of the Church, the reformers were drawn into an opposite mistake in attaching too much importance to **individual opinion.** On the Catholic principle, the *Church* makes the Christian ; on the Protestant principle, *Christians* make the Church ; and consequently, practically viewed, Christ loses His right place in both.

The results of the unhallowed power in the hands of the Romish priesthood became utterly intolerable to all classes of society about the beginning of the sixteenth century. A protest was raised ; it soon overspread the whole of Christendom ; the Bible was appealed to as of absolute authority ; **justification by faith** alone without the deeds of the law became the watchword of the reformers. The galling yoke of Rome was thrown off. This was the work of God's Spirit, and the energy that accomplished the Reformation was all of Him. One result of this great revolution, and that which characterised it, was the transfer of power and importance from the Church to the individual. The idea of the Church as the dispenser of blessing was rejected ; and every man was called upon to read the Bible for himself, examine for himself, believe for himself, be justified for himself, serve God for himself, as he must answer for himself. This was the new-born thought of the Reformation—always right, but it had long been denied by the usurpation of Romanism —individual blessing first, Church formation afterwards, was the new order of things ; but alas ! the true idea of the Church of God was then completely lost, and not recovered till the present century, as we shall see by and by, the Lord willing.

So far, the reformers were right. The Lord only builds living stones on the rock-foundation ; but the Lord's own place and work in the Assembly by the Holy Ghost being lost sight of, men began to unite and build Churches, so-called, after their own minds. A great variety of Churches or religious societies speedily sprang up in many parts of **Christendom** ; but each country carried out its own idea as to how the Church should be formed and governed ; some thought that Church power should be vested in the hands of the civil magistrate ; others thought that the Church should retain that power within herself ; and this difference of opinion resulted in the national and innumerable dissenting bodies which we still see everywhere around us. But the mind of Christ as to the character and constitution of His Church, so largely taught in the epistles, seems to have been entirely overlooked by the leaders of the Reformation. Individual faith, as the grand saving principle for the soul, was everywhere

* " Lectures on the Revelation "—Sardis, by W.K.

insisted on, thank the Lord ; and men's souls were saved and God was thereby glorified ; but that being secured, men might combine and make Churches to suit their own minds. Nothing is more manifest to the student of Church history with his New Testament before him than this painful fact.

For example, we read in Ephesians 4 : " There is *one body*, and *one* spirit ; " but according to Protestantism we should read : " There are *many* bodies and one spirit." But there cannot be more than *one* of *Divine* constitution. Again, we read : " Endeavouring to *keep the unity of the Spirit.*" This plainly means the unity of the Spirit's forming—the Holy Ghost being the formative power of the Church which is Christ's body. Christians are the *units* formed by the Holy Spirit into a perfect unity. This we are to endeavour to " keep," not to *make*—to endeavour to maintain, exhibit, carry out in practice. " For as the body is one, and hath many members, and all the members of that one body, being many, are one body ; so also is Christ. For by one Spirit are we all baptised into one body, whether we be Jews or Gentiles, whether we be bond or free ; and have been all made to drink into one Spirit " (1 Cor. 12. 12, 13).

5. Not only are the religious systems represented by Sardis without life, but the *works* of those who belong to them are incomplete. " I have not found thy works *perfect* before God," saith the Lord Jesus. He looks for fruit according to the standard given, and the resources placed at the disposal of faith. He presents Himself as the One who has all perfectness in spiritual power and energy for His Church, and as looking for fruit which answers to Himself. He cannot lower His standard in dealing with our shortcomings. " Remember, therefore," He says, " how thou hast *received* and *heard*, and hold fast, and repent." He calls their attention in this solemn warning to the *grace* they had received, and the *word* they had heard. He looks for works complete, according to the measure of grace received, and the truth communicated. But, alas, under the plea of " there is no perfection " either in the Church or in the individual, the idea of obedience according to the Word of God has lost its proper place in the minds of Christians generally.

Take an example of what we mean—a common case.

A young man is converted through the visit of an evangelist. He has no associations or friends in one place of worship more than in another ; but now he must attend somewhere. He is recommended to visit the different Churches within reach of his residence, and *settle down* where he thinks he will receive the most good. This is the criterion he is to judge by—his own good. Our own blessing is, no doubt, a most important thing, and ought not to be overlooked ; but the will of Christ and obedience to the Word of God would surely be a deeper spring

of blessing to our souls than merely seeking our own good, to the neglect of God's mind about the Church as revealed in the epistles. But, alas, the common saying is, "There is good in all denominations, but none are all good; therefore we must judge for ourselves, and choose the one we think the nearest to Scripture—there is no system perfect." But this trite saying, however plausible, can only apply to human systems of religion. God's system must be perfect and no system will suit Him that is not perfect. The imperfections of those who are in God's system, or endeavouring to carry it out, do not affect its Divine perfection.

The distinction between a system and those who are in it, is often lost sight of. Supposing that a few weak or even faulty Christians were gathered to God's centre; that would not make the centre weak or faulty, for those who are gathered by the power of the Holy Ghost are on God's ground, in His presence, and will surely receive His blessing. This should be our *chief object*—to be where God is, in the full assurance of faith, and trust Him for the good of our souls. "For where two or three are gathered in My Name, there am I in the midst of them" (Matt. 18. 20; Eph. 4. 3, 4).

The difference between the great system of Sardis, and those who were in it, is very manifest in the Lord's message to them. "I have not found thy works perfect before God. Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard, and hold fast and repent." The Church must be judged, not by a lifeless system, but by the resources which it has in Christ the head. The painful fact that things are not now as they were at the beginning, is no reason why Christians should make Churches after their own minds and govern them by their own laws. But this has been the sin and practice of Protestantism until their name is *legion*. "Remember therefore how thou hast received and heard," is the Lord's most solemn warning to Sardis, and to Protestants generally. The revealed Word of God should be our only guide and authority, and the grace of the Lord Jesus Christ our only power. He recalls the Church to these two grand points—*grace received, truth heard*. These form the measure of her responsibility, and the standard by which He must judge the great system of Sardis.

6. The **Coming of the Lord** is here spoken of as if the Church had fallen to the level of the world. "If therefore thou shalt not watch, I will come on thee as a thief, and thou shalt not know what hour I will come upon thee." This is very similar to what is said with regard to the world in 1 Thessalonians 5. 2: "The day of the Lord cometh as a thief in the night." The Lord looks for His people to take a distinct path in separation from the world; but in this Sardis failed. "I have not found thy works perfect

before God." There was great conformity to the world. Even in Thyatira, the saints of God are commended for their earnestness, notwithstanding the evil, and for their last works being more than the first. But the idea of obedience to the Word of God and separation from the world is little known in Protestantism. Therefore they must share the world's portion. "I will come on thee as a thief." As such He will come on the mere professing mass, but not so on the true believer.

"Thou hast a few names," He says, "even in Sardis, which have not defiled their garments; and they shall walk with Me in white; for they are worthy." This is real comfort to those who are walking with the Lord in separation from the world. It is the world as a moral scene that defiles the Christian's garments. The few *names* here signify *individuals*. The Lord knows each one by name who is walking faithfully on earth, and assures them that they will walk with Him in Heaven. Blessed are the overcomers; instead of a blotted name, He will confess them before His Father and before His angels.

Having thus examined the meaning of the message to Sardis, and its application to what took place after the Reformation, we now return with mingled feelings to its history. Unfeignedly thankful for that great work of God's Spirit; unfeignedly sorry for the failure of men which so soon appeared. But it may be well to refresh the reader's mind with a glance at the successive conditions of the professing Church of God on earth, before going farther.

In Ephesus, we have the Church cooling down in her love to Christ. "Thou hast left thy first love." This is the origin of all the failure that has since followed. In Smyrna, suffering under persecution from Satan. In Pergamos, worldliness; the Church dwelling in the world where Satan's throne is. In Thyatira, corruption; suffering the prophetess Jezebel to teach, to seduce the Lord's servants to commit fornication and to eat things sacrificed unto idols. In Sardis, deadness; Jezebel is not here, Sardis had got away from her and her corruptions. A great name to live—a great profession and appearance of Christianity, but no vital power.

THE LUTHERAN CHURCHES.

A.D. 1526-1529.

In illustration of our exposition of the Epistle to Sardis, and in proof of what we have said of the constitution of the Lutheran Churches, we will now refer to their original organisation. And that the truth on this point may be fairly and fully stated, we will quote from D'Aubigné, who has said all for **Luther and the Reformation** that can be said.

"The reform needed some years of repose that it might

increase and gain in strength ; and it could not enjoy peace unless its great enemies were at war with each other. The madness of Clement VII was as it were the *lightning-conductor* of the Reformation, and the ruin of Rome built up the Gospel. It was not only a few months' gain ; from 1526 to 1529 there was a calm in Germany by which the Reformation profited to organise and extend itself.

"The Papal yoke having been broken, the ecclesiastical order required to be re-established. It was impossible to restore their ancient jurisdiction to the bishops ; for these Continental prelates maintained that they were in an especial manner the Pope's servants. A new set of things was therefore called for, under pain of seeing the Church fall into anarchy. Provision was made for it. It was then that the evangelical nations separated definitely from that despotic dominion which had for ages kept all the West in bondage.

"Already on two occasions the Diet had wished to make the reform of the Church a national work. The Emperor, the Pope, and a few princes were opposed to it. The Diet of Spires had therefore resigned to each state the task that it could not accomplish itself.

"But what constitution were they about to substitute for the Papal hierarchy ?

"They could, while suppressing the Pope, preserve the episcopal order ; it was the form most approximate to that which was on the point of being destroyed.

"They might, on the contrary, reconstruct the ecclesiastical order, by having recourse to the sovereignty of God's Word, and re-establishing the rights of the Christian people. This form was the most remote from the Roman hierarchy. Between these two extremes there were several middle courses . . . Evangelical Germany, at the moment in which she began to try her hand on ecclesiastical constitutions, began with that which trenched the deepest on the Papal monarchy." *

The reader will plainly see from these few extracts, that the princes of Germany, in re-constituting the Church, were guided by expediency, or political principles. Although they may have been sincere in desiring to act in conformity with the Word of God, yet it never seems to have crossed their minds that God has given a constitution for His Church in the New Testament. He has not given to man the liberty of adding to, or altering a single word of, that Divine constitution, any more than He gave to the Jews the liberty of adding to, or altering a single pin in the tabernacle. But as we have gone very fully into the question of the inauguration, constitution, and discipline of the Church in the early part of our first volume, we need say nothing more on

* D'Aubigné, vol. iv., pp. 26-47.

that subject here. Everything should be tried by the standard of God's Word, and whatever has not the sanction of that Word should be given up.

THE FIRST PLANTING OF THE LUTHERAN CHURCHES.

The **Reformation in Germany** can hardly be said to have begun with the lower classes. In Switzerland the movements were democratic, in Germany it was imperial. The princes stood in the front rank of the battle, and sat on the first bench in the council. "The democratic organisation," says D'Aubigné, "was therefore compelled to give way to an organisation, conformable to the civil government." This is a full admission that the constitution of the Lutheran Churches were purely human, purely political. Christ as the centre, and the Holy Ghost as the gathering power to that centre, are entirely overlooked. Therefore the Lord pronounces all such systems as "dead." Christ, the Holy Spirit, the Word of God, are all talked of and believed in, but none of them have their right place in the Lutheran or the reformed Churches : consequently they are without vitality. It was particularly among the higher classes that Luther found his supporters. "He admitted the princes as representatives of the people ; and henceforward the influence of the State became one of the principal elements in the constitution of the evangelical Church."

Re-formation, we have to bear in mind, is not *formation*. The original proclamation of the truth and the formation of the Church at Pentecost, should be the Reformer's guide. Reformation is the turning of our thoughts to the beginning, or to the Word and grace of God, and Re-forming the Church in accordance with His grace and truth. And surely, if the Church was formed in the first century without the princes of this world, could it not be Re-formed without them in the sixteenth or nineteenth ? D'Aubigné very naturally asks this question, which shows that he felt there was a serious defect somewhere ; for why call in a power to Re-form, which was not required in forming the Church at the beginning ? The idea of the Church, as the Assembly of God, or as the body of Christ, was now completely lost. Even the Catholics, though in a wicked and corrupt way, speak of maintaining the unity of the Church. The Protestants started wrong on this point, and from that day until now they have been going farther and farther from the truth as to the "one body."

Philip, Landgrave of Hesse, an enterprising and magnanimous prince, has the reputation of being the first in completing an ecclesiastical constitution for the Churches of his hereditary States, and this was set forward as a model for the new Churches of Christendom.

THE DEATH OF FREDERICK.

In the year 1525, **Frederick** the Wise, Elector of Saxony, died. He had been the friend and protector of Luther, though not much of a reformer. John, his brother and successor, was of a very different character. He was a thorough Lutheran and reformer. In ecclestical matters he assumed an absolute supremacy. He caused the constitution and government of the Churches, the form of public worship, the duties and the salaries of the clergy to be drawn up by Luther and Melanchthon, and to be promulgated by his deputies in the year 1527. "Being fully satisfied as to the truth of Luther's doctrines and clearly perceiving the utter impossibility of preserving them if the Pontiff's authority were maintained, he took upon himself an entire jurisdiction in religious matters. He made provision for placing pious and competent teachers over all the Churches, and for the removal of unsuitable ones. His example was soon followed by the other princes and states of Germany, that had cast off the dominion of the Roman Piontff." * Such was the foundation or first planting of the Lutheran and Reformed Churches.

The effect of such decided measures, as may easily be supposed, was soon manifest. Dissensions among the princes immediately followed. The moderation of Frederick had kept them tolerably united; but the proceedings of John made it obvious, that he was determined to separate the Churches of his territory from the Church of Rome. This awoke the fears of the Catholic princes, and led them to consult together for the defence of the old religion, and for the punishment of the daring innovators. An alliance was also formed by the Lutheran princes, and it was only the troubled state of Europe that prevented a civil war. The hands of Charles being full with his wars in different places, the Reformers were left undisturbed till the year 1529—the year so famous in the history of the Reformation, and second only to the one we are now approaching, 1530. But we must notice one or two things which led to its importance. And first of all—

THE APPEAL OF THE PRINCES.

By the efforts of the Popish party at the **Second Diet of Spires,** in 1529, the edict issued against Luther at Worms in 1521 was confirmed, and all innovations in religion were forbidden. Against this decision the majority of the evangelical princes entered their solemn and deliberate protest.† But not satisfied with merely expressing their dissent from the decree of the Diet, the protesters reassembled immediately after its dissolution and had a document drawn up in due form, in which they review what had passed in

* Mosheim, vol. iii., p. 122. † See vol. ii., p. 660.

the assembly, state their grievances, assign reasons in justification of the step they had taken, and with respectful firmness re-assert the sacred rights of conscience on matters of salvation, and finally appeal to the Emperor and to a future General Council. The document concludes as follows : "We therefore appeal for ourselves, for our subjects, and for all who receive or who shall hereafter receive the Word of God, from all past, present, or future vexatious measures, to his imperial majesty, and to a free and universal Assembly of holy Christendom." This document filled twelve sheets of parchment ; the signatures and seals, which were nearly the same as had been affixed to the protest, were now affixed to the appeal.*

A copy of this remonstrance was immediately despatched to the Emperor, under the charge of three deputies. Charles was then on his way from Spain to Italy. They found him at Placentia, but met with the most discouraging reception. He was much irritated with this freedom and daring opposition to his will. The spirited tone of the memorial wounded his pride, and in a rage he ordered the deputies to be placed under arrest, and commanded them not to leave their apartments, nor to write a line to the Protestant princes on pain of death. But in a short time he softened down, set them at liberty, and went on his way to Bologna, where he spent several months with the Pope, Clement VII.

Meanwhile the Protestant chiefs were not inactive ; they were employing the most effectual means for the furtherance of the Reformation and for the strengthening of their own position with the people. On the fifth of May, eleven days after the appeal was drawn up, it was printed and published by the Landgrave, and on the thirteenth, by the Elector. The great question between the Catholics and the Protestants had now taken a definite form, and was fairly before all Christendom.

MEETINGS OF THE PROTESTANTS.

The apprehensions of the princes as to the intentions of the Emperor were now confirmed. His violent treatment of the deputies, and his present friendship with the Pope were significant signs of the severe measures he was meditating. The Protestant leaders now thought that it was high time for them to consult for their protection against the offended and indignant Charles. Meetings were held in the summer of 1529, at Rothach, Schwabach, Nuremberg, and Smalcald, but nothing definite was agreed upon, in consequence of the diversity of opinion which prevailed on the subject of the Lord's Supper. It was formally decided at one of their meetings, "that unity on the sacraments of Baptism and the Eucharist was essential to any religious

* D'Aubigné, vol. iv., p. 83.

alliance among Christians." But, alas, alas, the Reformers were already two camps by means of the sacramentarian controversy.

The Papal party was well acquainted with the bitter pamphlets which had already been written by Luther and Zwingle on this subject, and were artfully using them to widen the breach between their followers. During the sitting of the Diet of Spires, the Reformers were continually taunted by the Catholics on this point : " You boast of your attachment to the pure Word of God, and yet you are nevertheless disunited." The Landgrave of Hesse was deeply pained by these public taunts, and determined to use every means possible to accomplish a reconciliation between the Swiss and Saxon Reformers. For this purpose he appointed a Conference to be held at **Marburg,** in 1529, and invited Luther and Zwingle, and some other principal doctors and theologians of both parties.

Chapter XXXVII

The Sacramentarian Controversy

The doctrine of the **real presence** of Christ in the Eucharist had been established in the Romish Church since the fourth Lateran Council in the year 1215. For three hundred years the mass and transubstantiation had been the principal bulwarks of Rome, and her greatest blasphemy. The idea of the corporeal presence of Christ in the holy supper threw a halo of sacred importance around it, excited the imagination of the people, and fixed it deeply in their affections. It was the origin of many ceremonies and superstitions, of great wealth and dominion to the priesthood ; and the most stupendous miracles were said to be wrought by the consecrated bread, both among the living and the dead. It thus became the corner stone of the Papal edifice.

Luther, as a priest and a monk, firmly believed in this mystery of iniquity, and never was, throughout his whole career, delivered from its delusion. He sinned against God and his own conscience when he accepted priestly ordination, and from that period a judicial blindness seems to have rested on his mind as to the power of the priest over the elements. **Transubstantiation,** or the actual conversion of the bread and wine into the real body and blood of Christ, by priestly consecration, was then, as it still is, the recognised doctrine of the Church of Rome. Those who doubt this are denounced as infidels.

As a reformer, Luther gave up the term *transubstantiation* and adopted, if possible, the still more inexplicable term of **consubstantiation.** He renounced the Papal idea that the bread and wine after consecration remained no longer, but were changed into the material body and blood of Christ. His strange notion was, that the bread and the wine remained just what they were before—real bread and real wine—but that there was also together with the bread and wine, the material substance of Christ's human body. No invention of man, we may freely affirm, ever equalled this Popish doctrine in absurdity, inconsistency, and irreconcilable contradictions. "The hands of the priests," said the Pontiff Urban, in a great Roman Council, "are raised to an eminence granted to none of the angels, of creating God, the Creator of all things, and of offering Him up for the salvation of the whole world. This prerogative, as it elevates the Pope above angels, renders Pontifical submission to kings an execration." To all this the sacred synod, with the utmost unanimity, responded, Amen. Surely this is the last

test of human credulity, and the consummation of human blasphemy.*

ZWINGLE'S EARLY VIEWS.

Ulric **Zwingle,** the great Swiss Reformer, and compeer of Luther, differed entirely from both the teaching of Rome and the Saxon Reformers as to the real presence of Christ in the Holy Supper. The Swiss had long held opinions contrary alike to the Roman and the Saxon. At an early period of Zwingle's Christian course his attention had been attracted by the simplicity of Scripture on the subject of the Lord's Supper. In the Word of God he read that Christ had left this world and gone to His Father in Heaven ; and that this was to be a matter of special faith and hope to His disciples. This we find clearly taught in the Acts of the Apostles : " And while they looked stedfastly toward Heaven as He went up, behold, two men stood by them in white apparel ; which also said, Ye men of Galilee, why stand ye gazing up into Heaven ? this same Jesus which is taken up from you into Heaven, shall so come in like manner as ye have seen Him go into Heaven." Thus we see that the blessed Lord ascended personally, bodily, visibly ; and that He shall return in like manner, but not until the close of the present dispensation, or Church period. " Whom the Heaven must receive until the times of the restitution of all things " (Acts 1. 10, 11 ; 3. 21).

The words of our blessed Lord : " This is **My body**," " This is **My blood**," Zwingle maintained to be figurative in their character, and to imply nothing more than that the sacramental bread and wine were simply symbols or emblems of Christ's body ; and that the ordinance or institution is commemorative of His death for us. " This do in remembrance of Me. For as often as ye eat this bread and drink this cup, ye do show forth the Lord's death till He come " (1 Cor. 11. 22-28).

For several years Zwingle had privately entertained these views of the Lord's Supper, but knowing the hold that the old Church doctrine had on the minds of the ignorant and superstitious people, he did not openly avow them. But believing that the time would soon come for the public promulgation of the truth, and forseeing the opposition he would have to encounter, he diligently, though in a private way, sought to spread the truth and strengthen his position. Letters on the subject were sent to many learned men in Europe, so as to influence them to examine the Word of God, even if they did not agree with the views of the Swiss Reformers. But while Zwingle was thus quietly waiting for the right moment to speak aloud, another, with more zeal than wisdom, imprudently wrote a pamphlet against Luther's doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and raised the

* For the authority of this incredible blasphemy, see Edgar's " Variations of Popery," p. 384.

storm of controversy, which raged with great violence for four years.

CARLSTADT, LUTHER, AND ZWINGLE.

Andrew Bodenstein, better known as **Dr. Carlstadt,** once a professor at Wittemberg, commenced the attack. This man had the reputation of having been both able and learned, and really devoted to the cause of the Reformation ; but from his extreme views on that subject and the impetuosity of his spirit, his measures were sweeping and revolutionary. He would have all the images destroyed, and all the rites of Popery abolished at once. We have met with him before. He was one of the earliest and warmest friends of Luther, but he had rejected Luther's notion of the real presence in the Eucharist, and that was the unpardonable sin in the eyes of the Reformer. He had also given too much countenance and encouragement to the excesses of the **Anabaptists,** or "the celestial prophets," as they were called, and this gave Luther a show of reason for visiting with the same condemnation the Sacramentaries and the Anabaptists But this was most unjust, as Zwingle and his followers were as opposed to the fanaticism of the so-called prophets, as were Luther and his colleagues.

In refutation of Dr. Carlstadt, Luther wrote a pamphlet against these prophets in 1525, in which he says : "Dr. Carlstadt has fallen away from us, and become our bitterest foe. Although I deeply regret this scandal, I still rejoice that Satan has shown the cloven foot, and will be put to shame by these his Heavenly prophets, who have long been peeping and muttering in concealment, but never would come fairly out until I enticed them with a guilder : that, by the grace of God, has been too well laid for me to rue it. But still the whole infamy of the plot is not yet brought forward, for still more lies concealed which I have long suspected. I know also, that Dr. Carlstadt has long been brewing this heresy in his mind, though till now he has not found courage to spread it abroad."

Zwingle was now persuaded that the time for silence was past. Although he sympathised with Carlstadt's views of the Eucharist, he greatly objected to his offensive style and levity.

He published in the year 1525, an important treatise "concerning true and false religion." His own views of the Eucharist are fully and clearly stated in this book, besides his utter condemnation of the seditious spirit of the Anabaptists, and the errors of the Papists on the subject in dispute. An opponent soon appeared in a pamphlet, "against the new error of the Sacramentaries." To this Zwingle replied in the same year, 1525 ; and took occasion to remind his opponents, the Lutherans, that they should be less personal in their abuse, and more rational and Scriptural in their arguments. There was a mildness and

respect in the writings of the Swiss, to which the Saxons were utter strangers; even Melanchthon, at times, became the reflection of his violent master.

Œcolampadius, the intimate friend of Zwingle, was preaching the simple doctrine of the New Testament, as to the Lord's Supper, at Basle, just about this time. But finding that his enemies were associating him with Carlstadt, he published and defended his own views. The effect of this book was great, written in such a Christian spirit, so full of the closest reasoning, and the fairest arguments, both from the Scriptures and the most eminent among the fathers, that many were drawn to consider the new opinions. Erasmus himself was well nigh converted by the book. "A new dogma has arisen," he writes to a friend, "that there is nothing in the Eucharist but bread and wine. To confute this is now a very difficult matter; for John Œcolampadius has fortified it by so many evidences and arguments, that the very elect might almost be seduced by it."

An abusive reply to this book very soon appeared, signed by fourteen German theologians, with a preface written by Luther. Zwingle was deeply offended, and complained of the insults offered to a brother reformer by his German brethren. "I have seen nothing in this age," he says, "less praiseworthy than this reply, on account both of the violence offered in it to Holy Writ, and of its immoderate pride and insolence. Œcolampadius, of all men the most harmless, a very model of every sort of piety and learning, he, from whom most of them have learnt what they know of literature, is so infamously treated by them, with such filial ingratitude, that we are called upon, not for reproaches, but for execrations." *

Thus the controversy went on. Luther was deeply grieved and astonished to find so many learned and pious men holding the same views as Zwingle; and many of whom he had entertained the highest opinion now expressed themselves favourable to the new views. This was gall and wormwood to the spirit of Luther, and filled him with inexpressible grief and anger. In his letters and writings at this time he expressed himself in the most unmeasured and unguarded terms. He calls them "his Absaloms, sacrament-conjurors, in comparsion with whose madness the Papists are mild opponents—the Satanic instruments of my temptation." Luther's followers took up the tone of their master, and he transferred to this controversy all the vehemence and obstinacy of his own nature. From about the close of the year 1524 till the year 1529, Luther had written so violently against the Swiss, and so little against the Papists, that it was sarcastically said by Erasmus, "the Lutherans are eagerly returning to the bosom of the Church."

* Waddington, vol. ii., pp. 346-370.

SUMMONS TO MARBURG.

Such were the Christian doctors, and such their feelings, whom the political Landgrave sought unweariedly to reconcile. The thought is a truly humiliating one, and casts a dark shade over the character of Luther. Philip, in his pacific exertions, showed much more of a Christian spirit on this and former occasions than the great Reformer, though it may not have been from the Christian's point of view. But we do not judge motives; there is One who will judge the secrets of men (1 Cor. 4. 5).

The connection of this great dispute with the political movements of Germany, made it one of intense interest and anxiety to the Protestant chiefs. It was the one great hindrance to their union; and without unity what could be done in the presence of such powerful adversaries as Rome and the Emperor? The Papal theologians had been watching with malicious satisfaction the growth and bitterness of this disgraceful dissension, and were using all their art to profit by it. The Landgrave evidently grieved over this division more than the theologians of Wittemberg, and now determined without further delay to bring about a conference, and if possible, a reconciliation between the leaders of the different parties. On the great fundamental truths of revelation, the German and the Swiss reformers were agreed. Only on one point did they differ—the manner in which Christ is present in the bread and wine of the holy Eucharist. It appears that Philip thought the whole question little more than a dispute about words, as he says: "The Lutherans will hear no mention of alliance with the Zwinglians; well then, let us put an end to the contradictions that separate them from Luther." Accordingly, he summoned the principal divines of Saxony, Switzerland, and Strasburg, to meet together at Marburg in the autumn of 1529.

Zwingle accepted the invitation with all gladness, and made ready to appear at the time appointed. But Luther—generally so bold and dauntless, as we have repeatedly seen—expressed the greatest unwillingness to meet Zwingle. The several pamphlets that had passed between them on the subject in question had produced such an impression on his mind of the power of Zwingle, that he sought by the most unworthy means to avoid meeting him. The Landgrave's repeated entreaties, however, at length prevailed. Thus wrote Luther to Philip:

"I have received your commands to go to Marburg to a disputation with Œcolampadius and his party, about the Sacramentarian difference, for the purpose of peace and unity. Though I have very faint expectation of such unity, yet as I cannot too highly commend your zeal and care thereon, so will I not refuse to undertake a hopeless, and to us, perhaps, a dangerous office; for I will leave no foundation for our adver-

saries to say that they were better inclined to concord than myself. I know very well that I shall make no unworthy concession to them . . . And if they do not yield to us, all your trouble will be lost." His private letters at this time express the same opinion and breathe the same spirit. The whole question was discussed, and closed in the mind of Luther before he started on his journey. But his mind was far from being at ease. He had a certain conviction that the victory would be awarded to the Swiss. This conviction is fully proved by the following propositions.

1. Luther wrote to say for himself and Melanchthon, that they could only attend the conference on condition that " some honest Papists should be present as witnesses against those future Thrasos and vain-glorious saints. If there were no impartial judges the Zwinglians would have a good chance to boast of victory." This is a strange passage in the history of the Saxon divines, and exhibits **a backward movement** from the principles of the Reformation ; but especially in the case of the author of the " Babylonish Captivity," and the denouncer of Antichrist. Had Luther forgotten that the Papists were pledged to the real presence more than any other party in Christendom ? And yet he proposes them as *impartial judges.* What a change, at least for the moment, in that great man ! How can we account for this ? Luther is no longer standing on the sure ground of the Word of God, but on the false ground of an absurd superstition. He could not have the sense of the Divine presence or approval. And little wonder that he manifested such weakness and inconsistency. In place of trusting in the living God and setting at naught Popes and Emperors, he pitifully turns to his old enemies to be his friends and refuge in the approaching discussion. What a solemn lesson for all Christians ! May the written and living Word be our resource and refuge at all times. We need only further add, that Philip was too warm an antipapist to give any heed to Luther's proposal ; it therefore fell to the ground, leaving to its authors the disgrace which impartial history has assigned to it.

2. In a letter, generally ascribed to Melanchthon, written to the Prince Elector, as early as 14th May, he goes farther still. " Let the prince refuse to permit our journey to Marburg, so that we may allege this excuse." " But the Elector," says D'Aubigné, " would not lend himself to so disgraceful a proceeding ; and the reformers of Wittemberg found themselves compelled to accede to the request of the Landgrave."

3. Another proposition was suggested, which shows still more the fear and misgiving of the Saxon divines : " That among the theologians to be summoned from Switzerland to the controversy, Zwingle should not be one." But neither could this proposal be

entertained ; the invitations had been given, and Philip was already too much offended by the obstinacy of Luther to listen to his requests. These little matters are only worth recording as showing the difference of the same man when he stands for the truth of God, and when he contends for the foolish dogma of consubstantiation. In the former case he stands by faith, and grace gives him moral courage, firmness, and nobility of bearing ; but in the latter, we find him exhibiting the most pitiful features of weakness, distrust, and dissimulation. It is the presence of God and faith in Him that makes the vast difference ; as the poet sings :

" Is God for me ? I fear not, though all against me rise ;
When I call on Christ my Saviour, the host of evil flies,
My friend, the Lord Almighty, and He who loves me, God !
What enemy shall harm me, though coming as a flood ?
I know it, I believe it, I say it fearlessly,
That God, the highest, mightiest, for ever loveth me,
At all times, in all places, He standeth by my side ;
He rules the battle's fury, the tempest, and the tide."

THE CONFERENCE AT MARBURG.

The senate of Zurich had positively refused to allow Zwingle to go to Marburg, lest any harm should befall him. But *he* felt that his presence at the conference was necessary for the welfare of the Church, and that he must go ! Accordingly he prepared for his journey, and started during the night, with only one friend to accompany him—Rodolph Collin, the Greek professor. He left the following note for the senate : " If I leave without informing you, it is not because I despise your authority, most wise lords ; but because, knowing the love you bear towards me, I foresee that your anxiety will oppose my going." They arrived safely at Basle, where they were joined by Œcolampadius ; and at Strasburg, where they were joined by Bucer, Hedio, and Sturm. The company reached Marburg on 29th September. Luther and his friends on the 30th. Both parties were courteously received by Philip, and entertained in the castle at his own table.

The Landgrave, not ignorant of the bitter feelings which the late controversy had produced between the chiefs of the parties, wisely proposed, that previously to the public conference, the theologians should have a private interview for the purpose of paving the way to reconciliation and unity. Knowing the tempers of the men, he directed Luther to confer with Œcolampadius, and Melanchthon with Zwingle. But so many accusations as to false doctrine were brought against the Swiss by the Saxon divines, that little progress was made towards unity, and the main question became more complicated. The **public disputation** was accordingly appointed for the following day, 2nd October, 1529.

The general conference was held in an inner apartment of the castle, in the presence of the Landgrave and his principal ministers, political and religious, the deputies of Saxony, Zurich, Strasburg, and Basle, and of a few learned foreigners. A table was placed for the four theologians—Luther, Zwingle, Melanchthon, and Œcolampadius. As they approached, Luther, taking a piece of chalk, steadily wrote on the velvet cover of the table, in large letters, "*Hoc est corpus meum*—This is My body." He wished to have these words continually before him, that his confidence might not fail, and that his adversaries might be confounded. "Yes," said he, "these are the words of Christ, and from this rock no adversary shall dislodge me."

All parties having assembled, the Chancellor of Hesse opened the conference. He explained its object, and exhorted the disputants to a Christian moderation, and the re-establishment of unity. Then Luther, instead of proceeding at once to the question of the Eucharist, insisted on a previous understanding concerning other articles of faith; such as the Divinity of Christ, original sin, justification by faith, etc. The Saxon divines professed to regard the Swiss as unsound on these and other subjects. What Luther's object could be, in seeking to widen the field of debate, we pretend not to say; but the Swiss replied that their writings bore sufficient evidence that on all these points there was no difference between them.

The Landgrave, to whom belonged the direction of the meeting, signified his assent, and Luther was compelled to give up his project; but he was evidently angry and ill at ease in his own mind, and said, "I protest that I differ from my adversaries with regard to the doctrine of the Lord's Supper, and that I shall always differ from them. Christ said, '*This is My body.*' Let them show me that a body is not a body. I reject reason, common sense, carnal arguments, and mathematical proofs. God is above mathematics. We have the Word of God; we must adore and perform it." Such was the commencement of this celebrated debate. The impetuous head-strong Saxon had written his text on the velvet, and was now pointing to it, and saying, "No consideration shall ever induce me to depart from the literal meaning of these words, and I shall not listen either to sense or reason, with the words of God before me." And all this was done and said, be it observed, before the deliberations were so much as opened, or a single argument had been advanced. This declaration, coupled with the notorious obstinacy of its author, was enough to crush every hope of a satisfactory termination to the conference.

But the Swiss, notwithstanding Luther's high-handed style, did not decline the argument. They no doubt knew his measure, cared little for his arrogant assertions, and probably never

counted on his conversion. "It cannot be denied," said Œcolampadius mildly, "that there are figures of speech in the Word of God : as *John is Elias, the rock was Christ, I am the Vine.*" Luther admitted that there were figures in the Bible, but he denied that this last expression was figurative.

Œcolampadius then reminded Luther that the blessed Lord says in John 6 : "It is the Spirit that quickeneth ; *the flesh profiteth nothing.*" "Now Christ who said to the people of Capernaum, "*the flesh profiteth nothing,*" rejected by these words, the oral manducation of the body. Therefore he did not establish it at the institution of the Supper."

"I deny," retorted Luther vehemently, "the second of these propositions. There was a material eating of Christ's flesh, and there was a spiritual eating of it. It was the former, the material eating, of which Christ declared that it profiteth nothing."

Œcolampadius hinted that this was in effect to surrender the argument. It admitted that we were to eat spiritually, and if so, we did not eat bodily, the material manducation being in that case useless.

"We are not to ask of what use," replied Luther, "everything that God commands becomes spirit and life. If it is by the Lord's order that we lift up a straw, in that very action we perform a spiritual work. We must pay attention to Him who speaks, and not to what He says. God speaks : Then, worms, listen! God commands : let the world obey ! And let us all fall down together, and humbly kiss the Word."

We may just notice in passing, that there is no ground for supposing that the question of **the Eucharist** is referred to **in John 6.** It was not even instituted for some time after this. Incarnation, death, and ascension are the fundamental truths which the Lord is here unfolding to the Jews, as the only means of eternal life and of all spiritual blessings. "Himself the eternal life which was with the Father before all worlds, He took flesh that He might not only reveal the Father, and be the perfect pattern of obedience as man, but that He might die in grace for us, and settle the question of sin for ever, glorifying God absolutely, and at all cost, on the Cross. Except the corn of wheat (as He Himself taught us) fall into the ground and die, it abides alone ; dying it brings forth much fruit. His death is not here regarded as an offering to God, as elsewhere often, but the appropriation of it by the believer into his own being . . . He only is life, yet this not in living, but in dying for us, that we might have it in and with Him, the fruit of His redemption, eternal life as a present thing, but only fully seen in resurrection power, already verified and seen in Him, ascended up as man, where He was before as God, by and by to be seen in us at the last day, manifested with Him in glory.

"Jesus, therefore, come down to earth, was put to death, ascended again to Heaven, is the doctrine of this chapter. As come down and put to death, He is the food of faith during His absence on high. For it is on His death we must feed in order to dwell spiritually in Him and He is us." *

We now return to **Marburg.**

Zwingle, just at this moment, interfered in the discussion. He pressed and greatly troubled the spirit of Luther by his reasoning from the Scriptures, science, the senses, etc.; but he took his stand first on the ground of Scripture. After quoting a number of passages in which the sign is described by the very thing signified, he introduced the argument which had been started by Œcolampadius in the morning, namely, John 6. Concluding that, in consideration of our Lord's declaration, "*the flesh profiteth nothing*," we must explain the words of the Eucharist in a similar manner.

Luther.—"When Christ says the flesh profiteth nothing, He speaks not of His own flesh, but of ours."

Zwingle.—"The soul is fed with the Spirit, and not with the flesh."

Luther.—"It is with the mouth that we eat the body; the soul does not eat it; we eat it spiritually with the soul."

Zwingle.—"Christ's body is therefore a corporeal nourishment, and not a spiritual."

Luther.—"You are captious."

Zwingle.—"Not so; but you utter contradictory things."

Luther.—"If God should present me wild apples, I should eat them spiritually. In the Eucharist, the mouth receives the body of Christ, and the soul believes His words."

There was now great confusion and contradiction in the language of Luther; as if the *four words* were to be taken neither "figuratively nor literally; and yet he seemed to teach that they were to be taken in both senses." Zwingle thought that an absurdity had been reached, and that no good could be attained by proceeding farther in this line of argument. He maintained from a wider view of the Scriptures, that the bread and wine of the holy Eucharist are not the very body and blood of the Lord Jesus, but only the representatives of that body and blood."

Luther was, however, by no means shaken. "*This is My body*," he repeated, pointing with his finger to the words written before him. "'*This is My body*,' and the Devil himself shall not drive me from that. To seek to understand it is to fall away from the faith."

But although no favourable impression was produced on the mind of Luther, many of the hearers were struck by the clearness

* For a fuller opening up of this subject, see "Bible Treasury," vol. x., p. 357; and "Synopsis," vol. iii., p. 432.

and simplicity of Zwingle's arguments, and many minds were opened to the truth on this important subject. **Francis Lambert,** the principal theologian of Hesse, who had constantly professed the Lutheran doctrine of the Eucharist, was amongst the most notables of the converts. He was the personal friend and great admirer of Luther, but conscience moved him to confess the truth. "When I came to this conference," he said, "I desired to be as a sheet of blank paper on which the finger of God might write His truth. Now I see it is the Spirit that vivifies, the flesh profiteth nothing. I believe with Œcolampadius and Zwingle." The Wittemberg doctors greatly lamented this defection; but turned it off by exclaiming, "Gallic fickleness!" "What!" replied the ex-Franciscan, formerly of Avignon, "was St. Paul fickle because he was converted from Pharisaism? And have we ourselves been fickle in abandoning the lost sects of Popery?"

Great agitation now prevailed in the hall, but the hour to adjourn had arrived, and the disputants retired with the prince to dinner.

In the afternoon the conversation was resumed by Luther, who said: "I believe that Christ's body is in Heaven, but I also believe that it is in the sacrament. It concerns me little whether that be against nature, provided that it is not against faith. Christ is substantially in the sacrament, such as He was born of the virgin."

Œcolampadius, quoting 2 Corinthians 5. 16, said: "We know not Jesus Christ after the flesh."

"After the flesh means," said Luther, "in this passage, after our carnal affections."

"Then answer me this, Dr. Luther," said Zwingle, "Christ ascended into Heaven; and if He is in Heaven as regards His body, how can He be in the bread? The Word of God teaches us that He was in all things make like unto His brethren (Heb. 2. 17). He therefore cannot be at the same instant on every one of the thousand altars at which the Eucharist is being celebrated."

"Were I desirous of reasoning thus," replied Luther, "I would undertake to prove that Jesus Christ had black eyes, and lived in our good country of Germany. I care little about mathematics."

"There is no question of mathematics here," said Zwingle, "but of St. Paul who wrote to the Philippians that Christ took upon Him the form of a servant, and was made in the likeness of men."

Finding himself in danger of being moved or drawn away from his original position, he flew back to his four words, exclaiming: "Most dear sirs, since my Lord Jesus Christ says, '*Hoc est corpus meum*,' I believe that His body is really there."

Wearied with the inflexible obstinacy and unreasonableness of Luther, Zwingle moved rapidly towards him, and striking the table, said to him : " You maintain then, doctor, that Christ's body is locally in the Eucharist ; for you say, *Christ's body is there—there—there. There* is an adverb of place. Christ's body is then of such a nature as to exist in a place. If it is in a place, it is in Heaven, whence it follows that it is not in the bread."

" I repeat," replied Luther warmly, " that I have nothing to do with mathematical proofs. As soon as the words of consecration are pronounced over the bread, the body is there, however wicked be the priest who pronounces them."

Note this saying. It is certainly blasphemy, though not intentionally so by this deluded man. According to this dogma, the Lord, willing or not willing, must descend into the idolatrous bread of the priest, however wicked he may be, the moment he mutters the words of consecration. This is Popery in its most daring blasphemy.

The Landgrave, perceiving that the discussion was growing hot, proposed a brief recess. As reason and fairness are all on one side, there is little interest in watching the progress of the debate. Zwingle and Œcolampadius had established their propositions by Scripture, philosophy, and the testimony of the most ancient fathers ; but all were met by the one unvarying answer, " *This is My body.*" And as if to insult and exasperate the Swiss divines, Luther seized the velvet cover on which the words, " *Hoc est corpus meum* " were written, pulled it off the table, held it up before their eyes, saying, " See, see, this is our text ; you have not yet driven us from it, as you had boasted, and we care for no other proofs."

After such an exhibition of weakness and folly, with the assumption of infallibility, there was no hope of drawing Luther from his hold, and no good reason for prolonging the conference. The discussion, however, was resumed the following morning, but at the close of the day the hostile parties were no nearer a reconciliation. A severe epidemic, in the form of the **sweating sickness,** had broken out in Germany about this time, and had reached Marburg during the conference, and no doubt hastened its termination. The ravages of the plague were frightful ; all were filled with alarm and anxious to leave the city.

" Sirs," exclaimed the Landgrave, " you cannot separate thus ; can nothing more be done to heal the breach ? Must this one point of difference irreconcilably divide the friends of the Reformation ? " " Is there no means," said the chancellor, " of the theologians coming to an understanding, as the Landgrave so sincerely desires ? "

" I know of but one means for that," replied Luther, " and this it is ; let our adversaries believe as we do." " We cannot,"

replied the Swiss. "Well, then," said Luther, "I abandon you to God's judgment, and pray that He will enlighten you." "We will do the same," added Œcolampadius. Zwingle was silent, motionless, but deeply moved while these words were passing. At length his lively affections gave way, and he burst into tears in the presence of all.

A PROPOSAL FOR TOLERATION AND UNITY.

The conference was ended, and nothing had been done towards unanimity. Philip and other mediators endeavoured at least to establish an understanding of mutual toleration and unity. The theologians, one after another, were invited into his private chamber; there he pressed, entreated, warned, exhorted, and conjured with them. "Think," said he, "of the salvation of the Christian republic, and remove all discord from its bosom." Politically, things were threatening. Charles V and the Pope were uniting in Italy; Ferdinand and the Roman Catholics princes were uniting in Germany. Union among all the Protestants seemed the only thing that could save them. So Philip believed, and toiled exceedingly to accomplish it; but the intractable and imperious disposition of Luther stood in his way.

The Swiss doctors entered most heartily into the wishes of the Landgrave. "Let us," said Zwingle, "confess our union in all things in which we are agreed, and as for the rest, let us forbear and remember that we are brethren. Respecting the necessity of faith in the Lord Jesus, as to the grand doctrine of salvation there is no point of discord."

"Yes, yes!" cried the Landgrave, "you agree! Give then a testimony of your unity, and recognise one another as brothers." "There is no one upon earth," said Zwingle, "with whom I more desire to be united than with you," approaching the Wittemberg doctors. Œcolampadius, Bucer, and Hedio said the same.

This most Christian movement seemed for the moment to produce the desired effect. Many hearts were touched even among the Saxons. "Acknowledge them! acknowledge them!" continued the Landgrave, "acknowledge them as brothers!" Even Luther's obduracy seemed to be giving way. The keen eye of Zwingle seeing what he hoped was a measure of relenting, he burst into tears—tears of joy—approaches Luther, holds out his hand, and begged him only to pronounce the word "brother." But, alas! that glowing heart was doomed to a cruel disappointment. When all eyes were fixed on the two leaders, and all hearts full of hope that the two families of the Reformation were about to be united, Luther coldly rejected the hand thus offered, with this cutting reply, "You have a different spirit from ours;" which was equal to saying: "We are of the Spirit of God, you

are of the Spirit of Satan." "These words," says D'Aubigné, "communicated to the Swiss, as it were, an electrical shock. Their hearts sank each time Luther repeated them, and he did it frequently." "Luther's refusing to shake hands with Zwingle," says Principal Cunningham, "which led that truly noble and brave man to burst into tears, was one of the most deplorable and humiliating, but at the same time solemn and instructive exhibitions of the deceitfulness of sin and the human heart the world has ever witnessed." *

A brief consultation now took place among the Wittemberg doctors, but the result was not more conciliatory. Luther, Melanchthon, Agricola, Brenz, Jonas, and Osiander, conferred together.

Turning towards Zwingle and his friends, the Saxons said: "We hold the belief of Christ's bodily presence in the Eucharist to be essential to salvation, and we cannot in conscience regard you as in the communion of the Church."

"In that case," replied Bucer, "it were folly to ask you to recognise us as brethren. We think that your doctrine strikes at the glory of Jesus Christ, who now sits at the right hand of God. But seeing that in all things you acknowledge your dependence on the Lord, we look at your conscience, which compels you to receive the doctrine you profess, and we do not doubt that you belong to Christ."

"And we," said Luther, "declare to you once more that our conscience opposes our receiving you as brothers."

"Well, doctor," answered Bucer, "if you refuse to acknowledge as brethren those who differ from you in any point, you will not find a single brother in your own ranks."

The Swiss had exhausted their solicitations. "We are conscious," said they, "of having acted as in the presence of God." They were on the point of leaving. They had manifested a truly Catholic Christian spirit; and the feeling of the conference was in their favour and also of their doctrine. Luther perceiving this, and especially the indignation of the Landgrave, appeared to soften down considerably. He advanced towards the Swiss and said: "We acknowledge you as friends, we do not consider you as brothers and members of Christ's Church; but we do not exclude you from that universal charity which we owe even to our enemies."

Although this concession was only a fresh insult, the Swiss resolved to accept what was offered them without disputation. The Swiss and the Saxons now shook hands, and some friendly words passed between them. The Landgrave was overjoyed that so much had been gained, and at once called out for a report

* D'Aubigné's "History of the Reformation," vol. iv., pp. 88-126; Cunningham's "Lectures on the Reformation," p. 218.

of this important result. "We must let the Christian world know," said he, "that except the manner of the presence of the body and blood in the Lord's Supper, you are agreed in all the articles of faith." This was resolved upon, and Luther was appointed to draw up the articles of the Protestant faith.

A "**Formula of Concord**" was immediately drawn up by Luther. It consisted of fourteen articles; rather general in their character—such as the Trinity, Incarnation, Resurrection, Ascension, Original Sin, Justification by Faith, the Authority of the Scriptures, the Rejection of Tradition, and lastly, the Lord's Supper, which was spoken of as a *spiritual feeding* on the very body and very blood of the Lord Jesus Christ. To the thirteen articles as they were read, one by one, the Swiss gave their hearty amen. And although the terms in which the fourteenth was expressed appeared to them objectionable, yet being somewhat obscure and capable of different interpretations, they agreed to sign the articles without causing further discussion. This important document received the signatures of both parties on 4th October, 1529. A desire was expressed to cherish towards one another the spirit of Christian charity, and to avoid all bitterness in maintaining what each deemed to be the truth of God.

The Confession of Marburg was now sent to the press. Its appearance gave the Saxons some ground for saying that the Swiss had signed Luther's creed; that they had recanted all their errors; that on the Eucharist alone excepted. That they were prepared to retract even that, but they had been deterred by fear of the vulgar; and that they had produced no argument against the doctrine of Luther except their own inability to believe it. Reports such as these flew rapidly through every part of Germany; but they were false reports. The reader must have observed that the courage and confidence of the Swiss increased as the contest advanced, and that their fairness and gentleness were mightier far than the unreasonableness and haughtiness of their adversaries.

On Tuesday, 5th October, after a four days' conference, the Landgrave left Marburg early. The doctors and their friends soon followed; but the amount of truth which had been brought out, and the opinions expressed, were widely propagated in Germany, and many hearts were turned to the simplicity of the New Testament in observing the Lord's Supper.

REFLECTIONS ON THE CONFERENCE AT MARBURG.

With feelings of the deepest gratitude and the most unfeigned humiliation, we would pause awhile, and meditate on the late scenes at Marburg. With gratitude to God for having given such publicity to the teaching of Scripture on the subject of the

Lord's Supper; but with mourning and humiliation over the inconsistency of one who had so much influence there. The doctrines so clearly taught by the Swiss had been little known in Germany till that time. Consubstantiation having been adopted by Luther and his followers, the true meaning and object of that sacred institution were unknown. Great interest was awakened in all parts by the newly-discovered truths, which were embraced by an immense number of persons. It spread rapidly throughout all Germany, and may have been an everlasting blessing to thousands of precious souls. Lambert, as we have seen, was converted to the views of Zwingle; and the Landgrave himself, a short time before his death, declared that the conference had induced him to renounce the error of consubstantiation.

Thus God, in His own goodness, overruled these unseemly debates for the spread of the truth, and for the accomplishment of His own gracious purposes. Little did Luther contemplate the merciful use that God would make of that conference; and that, when *he*, Luther, was caring only for his own reputation, God was caring for the advancement of the Reformation.

But, alas! what is man—fallen, self-seeking man! Where is now the Luther of the early days of the Reformation? Why has the heart that was so large, liberal, and considerate of all, so soon degenerated into the most undisguised and intolerant bigotry? The answer is plain—then he stood for God by faith? now he stood in pride as **the head of a party.** And this explains not only the wonderful change that had come over the spirit of Luther, but the ignoble failure of many distinguished men from that day until now. At the Diet of Worms and other places, Luther, almost alone, fought for the truth of God against the lie of Satan; but at Marburg he fought for the lie of Satan, in the form of his new dogma, against the truth of God. Some may be ready to say that he was fighting for the truth according to his conscience; so far it may have been so. But it will be remembered that he resisted all peaceful investigation of the truth, all reasonable means of arriving at a proper understanding of those "four words"—"*This is My body*"—and seemed only to care for the maintenance of his own authority and power as the chief of his party. There was no concern manifested by either Luther or any of the Saxons for the general interest of the Gospel, or for the triumph of the Reformation. Thus was the great and blessed work of Luther marred and vitiated by the most absurd and foolish dogma ever proposed to the credulity of man.

The position and danger of **a party leader** in the things of God are clearly expressed in the following opinion of Luther. "At Marburg, Luther was Pope. By general acclamation the chief of the evangelical party, he assumed the character of a despot; and

to sustain that part in spiritual matters, it is necessary to create the prejudice of *infallibility*. If he once yielded any point of doctrine—if he once admitted that he had fallen into error—the illusion would cease, and with it, the authority that was founded on it. It was thus at least with the multitude. He was obliged by the very position which he believed he occupied, or which he wished to occupy, to defend in the loftiest tone every tenet that he had once proclaimed to the people . . .

"Upon the whole, he lost both influence and reputation by that controversy. By his imperious tone, and elaborate sophistry he weakened the affections and respect of a large body of intelligent admirers. Many now began to entertain a less exalted opinion of his talents, as well as of his candour. Instead of the self-devotion and magnanimity which had thrown such a lustre over his earlier struggles, a vain-glorious arrogance seemed to be master of his spirit; and but for the indulgence of this ignoble passion, the mantle, which might have wrapped Germany and Switzerland in one continuous fold, was rent asunder. He was no longer the genius of the Reformation. Descending from that magnificent position, whence he had given light to the whole evangelical community, he had now become little more than the head of a party, then, indeed, the more conspicuous and powerful section of the Reformers, but destined in after times to undergo reverses and defections, which have conferred the appellation of Lutheran on an inconsiderable proportion of the Protestant world." *

* Dean Waddington, vol. ii., p. 401.

CHAPTER XXXVIII

The Council at Bologna

WHEN we last parted with the Emperor and the Pope they were spending the winter months together at Bologna. Charles arrived in great state on the 5th of November, 1529. When the news of his approach reached Rome, Clement hastened in full ecclesiastical pomp to meet his majesty. The Emperor was escorted by five-and-twenty cardinals—who received him on the frontiers—besides crowds of nobles, Spanish and Italian, with their brilliant equipages. The Pope, overcome by the presence of his dutiful son, saluted him three times ; and the Emperor, affecting the reverence due to his " holy father," fell on his knees, kissing his feet, then his hands and his face.

Such was the meeting of the two chiefs of Romish Christendom, whose main object was to consult as to the most effectual means of rooting out the heresies which had sprung up in Germany. The lips of the priest, true to his character, urged the immediate adoption of the most violent measures ; but the soldier, though backed by a powerful army, recommended some further delay, and suggested that there should be an opportunity given for free deliberation in council on the present aspect of affairs in the Church. Clement, who dreaded above all things the public discussion of such questions, employed every argument to dissuade the Emperor from his purpose. He assured him that his forbearance would only make the heretics more presumptuous; that the state of things in Germany was desperate and called for force and chastisement. But the policy of the soldier led him to milder measures. He may have cared as little in heart for the Reformation as Clement, but he became daily more convinced that menaces would not subdue the spirit of the Protestants, and he was not prepared for actual warfare. He endeavoured to persuade the Pope to call a General Council, but the angry Pontiff thought of nothing but crushing by military power the stubborn enemies of the Catholic faith.

To those who have become familiar with the **principles of the Papacy,** the character of these consultations will be no surprise, however humiliating to contemplate. Impartial history has been careful to record the sad contrast. " On the one side was the prince and the soldier, the natural advocate of arbitrary and coercive proceedings ; on the other the peaceful ecclesiastic, the representative of the religion of the God of mercy ; and yet, whatever piety or virtue may be found in the above dialogue,

whatever justice or pretence to justice, whatever principle of sound morality, whatever generosity of political sentiment, whatever regard for the rights or for the happiness of man, whatever respect for the trite and manifest precepts of Christ—whatever, in short, ought to have proceeded from the ministry of concord and charity, was uttered by the secular despot; while the direct recommendation of violence and bloodshed issued from the lips of the spiritual priest." *

The crafty Pope was well aware that the Reformers were then weak and divided, and therefore pressed Charles to carry into execution without delay the sentence of Leo, together with the decree of the Diet of Worms. But Charles was not the man to give up his own will, even to his holy father. He now instructed his chancellor, Gattinara, to explain his views and intentions to the conference; who spoke to the following effect:

The Emperor had regarded with deep affliction the dissensions which had arisen in his day, and of which the violence appeared to be increasing rather than abating; and that, among all the duties which providence had imposed upon him, none was nearer his heart than that of restoring the tranquillity of the Church; that there was no expedient more salutary to the Church, or more worthy of the sovereign Pontiff and of a Christian prince, than to convoke a general and free council for the Scriptural determination of all controversies; that this council should be assembled immediately, and composed of the most eminent doctors of all nations; that perfect freedom of debate should be allowed; and that the articles there recommended, after receiving the sanction of the Pope, should become the established doctrine of the Christian world, and be supported, if necessary, by the interference of the civil powers.

Clement viewed the proposed convocation with great aversion. The proceedings of the councils of Pisa and Constance, which had deposed the Popes Benedict XIII, Gregory XII, and John XXIII, excited his fears. He had many personal motives for dreading an assembly of Christendom. "Large congregations," he replied, "serve only to introduce popular opinions. It is not with the decrees of councils, but with the edge of the sword that we should decide controversies." He promised, however, to reflect on what had been said.

THE DIET OF AUGSBURG.

The Emperor at length came to the conclusion that it would be unjust to follow the Council of the Vatican, and a violation of the imperial laws of Germany to condemn worthy citizens unheard, and to make war against them. He, accordingly, in the month of January, 1530, sent his mandatory letters into

* Waddington, vol. iii., p. 39.

Germany, summoning a diet of the Empire to be held at **Augsburg** in the following April.

In the meantime, during his stay at Bologna, Charles expressed his desire to be crowned by the Pope as many of his ancestors had been. "He appointed the 22nd of February for receiving the iron crown as King of Lombardy, and resolved to assume the golden crown as Emperor of the Romans, on the 24th of the same month—his birthday and the anniversary of the Battle of Pavia." We notice this fact because Charles was a different man after he sealed by a false oath his coronation vows. The Pontiff having anointed him with oil, and given him the sceptre, presented him with a naked sword, saying, "Make use of this sword in defence of the Church against the enemies of the faith." Next, taking the golden orb, studded with jewels, he said, "Govern the world with piety and firmness." Then came the golden crown enriched with diamonds. Charles bent down, and Clement put the diadem on his head, saying: "Charles, Emperor invincible, receive this crown which we place on your head, as a sign to all the earth of the authority that is conferred upon you."

The Emperor then kissed the white cross embroidered on the Pope's red slipper, and exclaimed: "I swear ever to employ all my strength to defend the Pontifical dignity, and the Church of Rome." But Charles, at this time, was neither inclined, nor able if he had been inclined, to carry matters with that high hand against the Reformers, which the Pope so earnestly desired. For thirteen years the Lord had so overruled the councils of Kings and Pontiffs, and all agents and events, that the Reformation had been sheltered from outward violence, and so nourished it by His grace, that it gradually acquired that root and establishment which no human power could subvert. Most distinctly do we see the gracious hand of a good provider at this moment in protecting the Reformers from the cruelty of the Pope and the power of the Emperor.

The rivalry long existing between Charles V and Francis I, the intrigues of the Popes with these princes, and the threatening advances of the Turks, had been frequently used of God for the peace and prosperity of the Reformation. The work was His, and He watched over it.

THE CONFESSION OF AUGSBURG.

When the Emperor's reasons for the convocation of the diet were known, the elector instructed the divines of Wittemberg to prepare a formula of confession. Up to this time no standard of the faith of the Reformers had been published; and as the Emperor was surrounded by all the prejudices and misrepresentations of the Papacy, the only hope of removing these prejudices, and of obtaining justice, was by a public and straightforward

proclamation of the real principles of the Reformation, and the real objects of the Reformers. Luther, with the assistance of Jonas, Pomeranus, and Melanchthon, re-examined the seventeen articles which had been drawn up and signed by the Lutheran party at Schwabach in 1529, and thinking them sufficient, presented them to the Elector at Torgau ; whence they are called *the articles of Torgau*. From these articles as a basis, Melanchthon, by order and authority of the princes, prepared a more orderly and elaborate statement of their doctrines and observances, and also assigned reasons for their opposition to the Roman Pontiffs. This document has ever since been well known as "**The Confession of Augsburg.**"

The materials of this famous confession were furnished by Luther, but the revising and the re-touching were entrusted to the milder pen of Melanchthon. "I am born," said Luther, "to be a rough controversalist ; I clear the ground, pull up the weeds, fill up ditches, and smooth the roads. But to build, to plant, to sow, to water, to adorn the country, belongs, by the grace of God, to Philip Melanchthon."

But as religious concord was the Emperor's professed object in convening the Assembly, it was necessary to have the confession drawn up in terms as little offensive to the Papists as faithfulness to God and His truth would permit. The pious Elector had recommended the theologians to distinguish between such articles as must, at any cost, be maintained, and such as might, if it were necessary, be modified or conceded. While this celebrated confession was to speak the truth as believed by all Protestants, it was, at the same time, the lowest statement they could consent to make for the sake of peace, rather than the highest they were prepared to give on the authority of the Word of God.

As the time drew near for the assembling of the diet, considerable anxiety was manifested by some of the princes as to the real intentions of the Emperor, and the safety of the Elector. He stood first among the princes in Germany, and first as to his faith in God, his love for the Reformation, his opposition to Popery, and his avowed protection of Luther against Papal and imperial vengeance. But John pursued the wiser and bolder course, and was the first prince who arrived in Augsburg.

The assembling of the diet was postponed till the 1st of May, and the Elector appeared on the 2nd, accompanied by a military train or suite of one hundred and sixty horsemen, and several of his most eminent divines. Luther was left at Coburg. The Elector feared that Luther's presence at the diet would exasperate the Papists and drive Charles to extreme measures. He had been excommunicated by the Pope, condemned by the Emperor, and viewed as the author of all those dissensions which were now

so difficult to compose. But at the same time John was determined to keep Luther within reach, that he might be able to consult him.

It was about this time that Luther published his **Catechisms, Greater and Lesser**, which are of authority in the Lutheran Churches even until this day ; and in his castle at Coburg he was made acquainted with all that was going on, and gave his opinions and directions by his numerous letters. He also published just before the opening of the diet, "A remonstrance to the Spirituals assembled at the Diet of Augsburg." The object of this composition was to vindicate the position of the Reformers, deny the false charges brought against them, and point to the abuses of the Papacy as the ground of their persistent opposition.

On the 12th of May, Philip of Hesse arrived with an escort of one hundred and ninety horsemen ; and just about the same time the Emperor reached Innspruck, in the Tyrol, accompanied by his Papal court of princes, cardinals, legates, and nobles of Germany, Spain, and Italy. We learn from Dr. Robertson, the able biographer of Charles, that he was deeply thoughtful when on his journey towards Augsburg. "He had many opportunities of observing the disposition of the Germans with regard to the points in dispute, and found their minds everywhere so much irritated and inflamed, as convinced him that nothing tending to severity or rigour ought to be attempted until all other measures proved ineffectual." It appears that he remained some considerable time at Innspruck, for the purpose of studying the situation of Germany, and how he might best ensure the success of his schemes.

Meantime, large parties were finding their way to Augsburg from all quarters. "Princes, bishops, deputies, gentlemen, cavaliers, soldiers in rich uniforms, entered by every gate, and thronged the streets, the public inns, churches, and palaces. All that was most magnificent in Germany was about to be collected there. The critical circumstances in which the Empire and Christendom were placed, the presence of Charles V and his kindly manners, the love of novelty, of grand shows, and of lively emotions, tore the Germans from their homes." *

It is interesting to notice here, that at this moment, when the leading reformers were assembled at Augsburg, and the enemy close at hand, and while the storm was thus actually impending, the noble and generous Landgrave made one final effort to reconcile the two grand divisions of the Reformers. But though Luther was absent, his spirit was there, and burnt with equal ardour among his disciples. They assured the Landgrave that they could never acknowledge as brothers those who persisted obstinately in error ; and that by an alliance with Zwinglians

* D'Aubigné, vol. iv., p. 161.

they should expose themselves to all the hatred that attached to the latter, and thus endanger the success of the Reformation. The Landgrave could not understand how a single error, admitting it to be one, or an obscure question, should be a sufficient reason for exclusion from communion. But his reasoning with the Lutherans was all in vain. No fear of danger, no hope of success, could induce them to have any fellowship with the Zwinglians.*

As the Emperor did not arrive till June 15th, and the city of Augsburg was crowded with inquirers, the Protestant princes resolved to place their preachers in the pulpits of some of the principal Churches. This step was taken in expectation of the Emperor's opposition; but the Elector and the Landgrave thought the opportunity for confessing Christ was too favourable to be neglected. John instructed one of his theologians to preach daily with open doors in the Church of the Dominicans, and of St. Catherine. Philip of Hesse appointed his chaplain, Snepff, to preach the Gospel in the cathedral. Every day, through the mercy of God, salvation by grace without works of law was preached in these places to immense and attentive crowds. The greater part of the population were already Lutherans.

This was a bold step; it was a grand means of converting those whom the Emperor had drawn together. The Catholics were astonished. They had expected to see the Protestants looking like criminals, and afraid to lift up their heads when the saviour of Catholicism was at the gates of the city. But what was to be done? The Bishop of Augsburg ordered his preachers to ascend the pulpits and address the people. But the Romish priests were not good preachers—they never were. They understood better how to say mass than to preach the Gospel. The Romanists were angry; they hastened to acquaint Charles of what was going on. He immediately sent orders from Innspruck that the offensive sermons should cease. The Elector replied, "that it was impossible for him to impose silence on the Word of God, or to refuse himself the consolation of hearing it; nothing is proclaimed in the sermons but the glorious truth of God and never was it so necessary to us; we cannot therefore do without it."

The Protestants very naturally thought that such a reply would hasten the arrival of the Emperor. Melanchthon was still at work on the confession. Timid and alarmed, he weighed every expression, softening it down, changing it with such minute anxiety, that his bodily strength was nearly exhausted. Luther thought all this superfluous, and enjoined Philip, under pain of anathema, to take measures for the preservation of "his little body," and not "to commit suicide for the love of God."

* Waddington, vol. iii., p. 48.

While the friends of the Reformation were preparing for the struggle at Augsburg, Luther was not idle at Coburg. Numerous letters and pamphlets issued from his stronghold, his second Wartburg. The castle stood on the summit of a hill, and his apartments were in the upper story, so that he sometimes dated his letters from the *region of birds*. Impatient at seeing the diet put off from day to day, he wrote to his friends that he had resolved to convoke one at **Coburg.** "We are already in full assembly," he says, in his own playful style; "you might here see kings, dukes, and other grandees, deliberating on the affairs of their kingdoms, and with indefatigable voice, publishing their dogmas and decrees in the air. They dwell not in those caverns which you designate with the name of palaces. The Heavens are their canopy; the leafy trees form a floor of a thousand colours, and their walls are the ends of the earth. They have a horror of all the unmeaning luxury of silk and gold; they ask neither coursers nor armour, and have all the same clothing. I have neither seen nor heard their Emperor, but if I can understand them, they have determined this year to make a pitiless war upon the most excellent fruits of the earth . . . But enough of jesting—jesting, which is, however, necessary to dispel the gloomy thoughts that prey upon me." For many months he maintained a struggle, full of darkness and mental agony, such as he passed through at the Wartburg.

THE ARRIVAL OF CHARLES AT AUGSBURG.

Gattinara, the Emperor's chancellor, died at Innspruck. This was considered a great loss to the Reformers. He was a man of good sense and moderation, and decidedly opposed to the sanguinary views of the Papal party. He possessed great influence over the mind of the Emperor, and was the only man who dared to resist the Pope. The timid Melanchthon exclaimed on hearing of his death: "With him all the human hopes of the Protestants vanish."

Two days after Gattinara's death, Charles quitted Innspruck. He arrived at Munich on the 10th June, and at Augsburg on the 15th. He made his public entry into the city with extraordinary pomp. Never, according to the historians, had anything so magnificent been seen in the Empire.* We only notice that which shows the firmness of the Protestants. The Electors, the princes, and their chancellors left the city at three in the afternoon to meet Charles on his way. When he had come within fifty paces of the German princes, they all alighted. Perceiving the Emperor preparing to do the same, some of them advanced and begged him to remain on horseback; but Charles dismounted without hesitating, and approaching the princes with an amicable

* See a full account in D'Aubigné, vol. iv.

smile, shook hands with them cordially. The Roman legate remained proudly seated on his mule ; but seeing the graciousness of Charles, he raised his hands and blessed the great personages thus assembled on the road. Immediately the Emperor, the king, the princes, the Spaniards, Italians, and all who submitted to the Pope fell on their knees. But the Protestants, like Mordecai, bowed not. They remained standing in the midst of this prostrate crowd. How galling it must have been to the Papal party ! But Charles did not appear to notice it, though he must have understood well what it meant. After the usual formalities, the great procession moved on—two thousand imperial guards leading the way.

The Emperor was now thirty years of age ; of distinguished bearing and pleasing features ; pale and delicate-looking, with a weak voice, but winning manners, having the air of a courtier more than of a warrior. He marched straight to the cathedral as a humble worshipper, amidst the gorgeous parade of ecclesiastical wealth and display, and the military pride and warlike show of many nations and many crowned heads. When he reached the altar, he fell on his knees, and raised his hands to Heaven, as if all he cared for were there, and himself a pilgrim and a stranger on the earth. A gold embroidered cushion was offered him, but he refused it, and knelt on the bare stones of the Church. All the assembly knelt with him ; the Elector and the Landgrave alone remained standing. They required to be present officially, but they acted according to their faith in God and His Word.

THE CHIEFS OF THE AUGSBURG DIET.

Before the business of the diet commences, it may be well to place in order the **principal leaders** on both sides. On that of the Papists there were the Emperor, his brother Ferdinand, Archduke of Austria and King of Hungary and Bohemia, the Pope's legate Campeggio, two nuncios, Pimpinella and Vergerio, Joachim Elector of Bradenburg, George Duke of Saxony, and William of Bavaria. These were all vehement Roman Catholics and took an active part in the diet. Their principal divines were Faber, Eck, Cochlæus, and de Wimpina.

On the side of the Protestants were John, Elector of Saxony, and his son, John Frederick ; Philip Landgrave of Hesse, George Margrave of Bradenburg, Anspach, Ernest, and Francis, Dukes of Lunenburg, Wolfgang Prince of Anhalt, Albert Count Mansfeld, and Count Philip of Hanover, besides the deputies of several imperial cities. Their chief divines were Melanchthon, Justus, Jonas, Spalatin, Snepff, and Agricola. There were also several of the Swiss divines, and Bucer, Gedio, and Capito from Strasburg.*

* "History of the Church." By John Scott, M.A. Vol. i., p. 6.

The firmness and principle of the Protestants were now to be thoroughly tested. The Emperor, on his arrival at Augsburg, repeated his order for the removal of the preachers. "We cannot," said the Landgrave, "deprive ourselves of the food of the Word of God, and deny His Gospel; and we entreat your majesty to withdraw your order, for our ministers preach only the pure Word of God." Charles being much displeased and getting angry, said, in a positive tone, that he could not desist from his demand. "Your conscience," replied the Landgrave, "has no right to command ours." The Margrave, who had been silent until then, having received a sharp answer from Ferdinand, placed his hand on his neck, and said with deep emotion: "Rather would I instantly kneel down, and in the Emperor's presence, submit my neck to the executioner, than prove unfaithful to God, and receive or sanction antichristian error." Charles was moved and surprised, but replied with mildness and address, "that there was no intention to take any man's life." The Emperor then proposed that the preachers on both sides should be silenced, and that the selection of others during the diet should be left to him. The matter in debate was then deferred till another opportunity, but D'Aubigné and others speak as if the Protestant divines continued to preach, though, in all probability, with less provoking publicity.

Ferdinand, who had frequently tried his strength with the princes at former diets, set another snare for their feet, or rather for their necks. The day following that of the Emperor's entrance into Augsburg was the festival of the Holy Sacrament—**Corpus Christi.** The king was well aware that the Protestants had discontinued, as idolatrous, the ceremonies observed by the Church on this occasion, and that their refusal to attend would irritate and inflame the mind of the Emperor. The snare was thus skilfully laid: of victory there can be no doubt, thought the legate. Besides, late in the evening, the Emperor sent for the Protestant princes, and signified to them his pleasure that they should attend him in the procession of the ensuing day. The princes begged to be excused. "Christ," they said, "did not institute this sacrament to be worshipped." Charles persevered in his demand, but gave them till the following morning to prepare their reply.

At the hour appointed the princes appeared before the Emperor. He repeated his demands, and they repeated their refusal. He even used entreaties, but to the same effect. Charles, who had not expected such resistance, was greatly agitated, and the legate endeavoured to exasperate him. The Margrave of Bradenburg again took speech in hand. "You know," he said, "how at the risk of our lives my ancestors and myself have supported the house of Austria; but in the present cause, which

pertains to God, I am compelled to resist all impositions of this kind, whatever may be the consequences; since it is written, '*We ought to obey God rather than man.*' For the confession, therefore, of the doctrine, which I know to be the Word of Christ, and eternal truth, I decline no danger—not even that of life itself, which, I hear, is threatened by some." The wisdom of God again appears, in making the wrath of man to praise Him. The Emperor, his brother, the legate, and others must hear the truth. The sacrament of the Supper, the princes answered, was for spiritual blessing to Christians; "not to be paraded in pompous pageantry about the streets, as an object of adoration to the vulgar. They maintained that the festival had no authority in the Word of God, and that they deplored any indecent degradation of so holy an institution."

It was already beyond the time appointed for the procession, and the Emperor and his party left the room, but the princes returned full of hope and joy to their palaces and the festival was celebrated without them.

The defeat of the Emperor and the triumph of the Protestants were as gall and wormwood to the heart of the Papal legate. But he had yet another net to spread, and determined, if possible, that they should be caught. The opening of the diet was fixed for the 20th of June, and the occasion was to be solemnised by the celebration of mass.

The Elector of Saxony was Grand Marshal of the Empire, and in virtue of his office, he was bound to carry the sword before the Emperor on such occasions. "Order him, therefore," said Campeggio to Charles, "to perform his duty at the mass of the Holy Ghost, which is to open the sittings." This, the legate thought, would not only be attending, but assisting at Popish ceremonies. The Elector was requested to attend. His first impulse was to refuse; but on the representation of his theologians, that in this case, he was called to the discharge of a civil office, not to the performance of a religious duty, he consented to attend. But he was careful to inform the Emperor that in so doing he was making no religious concession.

By an overruling providence, he was once more to be a witness for the truth of God, and against the superstitions of Popery, and that in its very citadel. The Grand Marshal of the Empire, bearing the sword, standing near the altar, remained upright, together with his friend the Margrave, while all the rest of the congregation fell down on their knees at the elevation of the host. Two men dared to stand in that vast assembly at the moment of adoration, and that in the presence of a hostile power, both Papal and imperial.

"These mere skirmishes," says one, "though followed by no personal consequences, are very deserving of the notice of the

historian, not only as indicating the resolution with which the reformers approached the conflict, but as unquestionably productive of some effect on the mind of Charles. He was unacquainted with their principles and their character. It was a new thing for him to be resisted, and resisted by princes, and in his presence, on the ground of religious conscience. Whatever Charles may have thought or felt of this third resistance to his orders, he left the Church immediately mass was over, entered his carriage, and repaired to the town-hall, where the sittings of the diet were to take place.

THE OPENING OF THE DIET OF AUGSBURG.

The great religious controversy, which commenced with an obscure humble monk in Saxony, now gathered around the avowed defender of the faith forty-two sovereign princes, besides many ambassadors, counts, nobles, bishops, deputies from the cities, etc., forming a most illustrous assembly.

The diet was opened with a long speech, in the Emperor's name, read by the **Count Palatine.** It turned principally upon two subjects—war with the Turks, and the religious dissensions. Under their Sultan Solyman, the Turks had taken Belgrade, conquered Rhodes, besieged Vienna, and threatened all Europe. Hence the necessity of adopting vigorous measures to arrest their progress. But the unhappy religious differences in Germany formed the important point in the Emperor's speech. It was observed that the language in his address was more hostile to the Protestants than his letters of convocation led them to expect. But Charles had been crowned since he wrote those letters ; he had sworn to defend the Pontiff and the Church of Rome, and his many private interviews with Clement at Bologna would not improve his spirit towards the Reformers. His tone was greatly changed. He referred to the old and oft-repeated story of the Diet of Worms. " He deplored the non-execution of that edict, and the inefficacy of all subsequent exertions for the same purpose during his absence in Spain. He was now returned to his German dominions, to institute a personal investigation, and to attend to the complaints and arguments of all parties, when they should be duly delivered to him in writing."

It was now proposed that the immediate attention of the diet should be directed to the subject of religion. The Emperor, therefore, gave notice to the Elector and his friends, that at the next session, to be held on the twenty-fourth, they should deliver to him a summary of their faith, of the ecclesiastical abuses of which they complained, and of the reformation which they demanded.

This arrangement gave the princes an interval of two days. They met at the Elector's on the twenty-third, to consider the

Confession, or, as it was then called, **The Apology**; and also to commit their whole way unto the Lord. It was a time of much anxiety and prayer. The following day the diet met; but it was evidently planned by the Papists that no opportunity should be given for the reading of the Apology It was three o'clock in the afternoon before business commenced. Then much time was spent by Campeggio in presenting his credentials, and delivering his master's message. The Ambassadors of Austria and the adjoining provinces were also introduced, who occupied some time in representing the calamities which they had suffered from the Turks, and in urging the adoption of measures for the protection of these provinces. The length of these preliminary matters gave the Emperor a plausible pretext for objecting to hear the Apology read; he said it was too late. The legate, no doubt, thought he had gained his point; the Catholics, from the Pope downwards, dreaded the public reading of the Protestants' Confession. The princes, however, were firm, and equally determined that it should be read aloud in a full diet, that it might have all possible publicity.

A violent struggle now took place between the two parties; or rather, we should say, between the powers of light and darkness. The father of lies used every means to quench the light, to stifle this manifestation of the truth, if he could not accomplish the death of the witnesses. But a handful of faithful men, by the grace of God, nobly withstood the powers of darkness in the persons of the great Emperor, the cardinals, prelates, and Catholic princes, and triumphed over them. "Deliver your Confession to the appointed officers," said Charles, "and rest assured that it shall be duly considered and answered." "Our honour is at stake," said the princes; "our souls are endangered; and are publicly accused, and we ought publicly to answer." On the continued resistance of Charles to hear the Confession, the princes became bolder and firmer. They assured the Emperor that they had no other motive in attending the diet than this, and that they must retain their papers in their own hands until they had permission to read them publicly.

Charles was surprised at the respectful but unyielding constancy of the Protestants, and saw that some concession was necessary. "To-morrow," said the Emperor, "I will hear your summary—not in this hall, but in the chapel of the Palatine Palace." The princes agreed to this, and returned to their hotels full of thankfulness to the Lord, while the legate and his friends now saw, to their sorrow, that the public reading of the Confession was inevitable.

The chapel where the Emperor agreed to hear the Apology was much smaller than the town-hall, and could contain only about two hundred persons. This was the enemy's device to

exclude numbers from hearing it ; but it was not very successful. All those whom it was most important to undeceive and enlighten on the principles of the Reformation were accommodated in the chapel, and the adjacent chambers were crowded with anxious listeners.

On the 25th of June, 1530—a day of great interest in the history of the Reformation, of Christianity, and of mankind—the Protestant chiefs stood before the Emperor. Christopher Beyer, the Elector's chancellor, held in his hand a German copy, and Pontanus, his late chancellor, held a Latin copy of the Confession. The Emperor wished the Latin copy to be read ; but the Elector most respectfully reminded the Emperor that, as they were in Germany, they should be allowed to speak in German. The Emperor consented. The Elector and his companions proposed to stand during the reading, but the Emperor desired them to take their seats. The chancellor, Beyer, then read the Confession. It is said that he read slowly, clearly, distinctly, and with a voice so loud and sonorous, that he was heard in all the adjoining places. Two hours were occupied in reading all the papers, but the most profound attention prevailed during the whole time.

The two copies of this celebrated Confession, being duly signed by the princes and the deputies of the imperial cities, were handed to the Emperor's secretary by Pontanus, who said, in an audible voice : " With the grace of God, who will defend His own cause, this Confession will triumph over the gates of Hell." Charles took the Latin copy for himself, and assured the Elector and his allies that he would carefully deliberate on its contents.

The effect produced by the public reading of this document was such as might have been expected. The less prejudiced portion of the listeners were astonished to find the doctrine of the Protestants so moderate, and " many eminently wise and prudent persons," says Seckendorf, " pronounced a favourable judgment on what they had heard, and declared they would not have missed hearing it for a great sum." **Father Paul** also observes, " that the Archbishop of Salzburg, after hearing the Confession, told every one that the reformation of the mass was needed, the liberty of meats proper, and the demand to be disburdened of so many commandments of men just : but that a poor monk should reform all was not to be tolerated—he would not have reform by means of a poor monk." Such is the pride and prejudice of the human heart. The archbishop might have remembered that God has chosen the foolish things of the world to confound the wise ; and the weak things of the world to confound the things which are mighty ; that no flesh should glory in His presence.

But many consciences were touched and many hearts were

exercised by means of the Confession. The Lord caused the truth to be felt. For the moment it seemed to have triumphed. "All that the Lutherans have said is true," exclaimed the Bishop of Augsburg, "we cannot deny it." The **Duke of Bavaria,** the great upholder of the Papacy in Germany, after hearing the Confession, said to Eck: "Well, doctor, you have given me a very different idea of this doctrine and of this affair; but, after all, can you refute by sound reasons the Confession made by the Elector and his friends?" "No," replied the Popish advocate, "by the writings of the apostles we cannot; but by the writings of the fathers and the canons of councils we can." "I understand," replied the duke in a reproachful tone, "according to you, the Lutherans have their doctrine out of Scripture, and we have our doctrine without Scripture."

The joy of Luther was boundless when he heard of the Lord's goodness to his friends. "I thrill with joy," he wrote, "that my life is cast in an epoch in which Christ is publicly exalted by such illustrious confessors and in so glorious an assembly. Our adversaries thought they had succeeded to admiration when the preachers were silenced by an imperial prohibition; but they do not perceive that more is done by our public Confession than perhaps ten preachers could have accomplished. Truly Christ is not silent in the diet. The Word of God is not bound. No; if it is prohibited in the pulpits, it shall be heard in the palaces of kings."

The day following the reading of the Confession, Charles convoked the states faithful to Rome. "What reply should be made to the Confession?" said he to the senate around him. Three different opinions were proposed by his advisers.

1. The men of the Papacy—the pure Churchmen—in accordance with the customs and views of the age, and with the violent counsels of the Romish Church, had nothing to propose but **immediate vengeance.** "Let us not discuss our adversaries' reasons," said they, "but let us be content with executing the Edict of Worms against the Lutherans, and with constraining them by force of arms to give up their errors and return to the communion of the Church of Rome.

2. Another party—called the men of the Empire—proposed that the Confession should be submitted to the **consideration of moderate and impartial men,** and that the final decision should be given by the Emperor.

3. The men of tradition, so called, advised that the Confession should first receive a **public refutation,** and that the Protestants should be compelled to conform to the established doctrines and ceremonies until a council should decide otherwise.

The last proposal was adopted with the Emperor's consent. Faber, Eck, and Cochlæus, the old champions of Rome and the

bitter enemies of the Reformation, were appointed to draw up a confutation of the Protestant Confession, and to have it ready for the diet within the period of six weeks. Meanwhile the secret emissaries of Rome were actively employed in Germany to practise her usual arts of bribery and corruption; which she frequently found to succeed after the defeat of her public exertions.

Since the Confession of Augsburg is the most celebrated document in the history of the Reformation, and has been adopted as a public standard of faith by the general body of Protestants, it may be well just to give the subject of which it treats. The entire Confession is composed of **twenty-eight articles,** or chapters. In the first twenty-one is comprehended the profession of their faith. The other seven recount the errors and offensive abuses of the Church of Rome, on account of which they had withdrawn from her communion.

THE ARTICLES OF FAITH.

The Trinity—Original Sin—The Person and Work of Christ—Justification—The Holy Spirit and the Word of God—Works, their necessity and acceptance—The Church—Unworthy Members—Baptism—The Lord's Supper—Repentance—Confession—Sacraments—Ministering in the Church—Ceremonies—Civil Institutions—Judgment and the Future State—Free Will—The Causes of Sin—Faith and Good Works—Prayer and the Invocation of Saints.

THE ARTICLES CONCERNING ABUSES.

The Mass—The Communion in Both Kinds—Auricular Confession—The Distinction of Meats and Traditions—The Marriage of Priests—Monastic Vows—The Ecclesiastical Power.

In chapter 10 the Lutherans plainly assert that the real body and blood of Christ are truly present in the Eucharist, under the elements of the bread and wine, and distributed and received. In consequence of this plain assertion of the dogma of Consubstantiation, the Reformed, or Zwinglian party, refused to subscribe to the Augsburg Confession. Hence the imperial cities of Strasburg, Constance, Lindau, and Memmingen, offered a separate confession, called the Confession of the Four Cities—*Confessio Tetrapolitana.* It agreed substantially with the Augsburg Confession, except in regard to the corporeal presence; but the Emperor would not allow it to be read in public.*

THE PERPLEXITIES OF THE PROTESTANTS.

As six weeks must elapse before we can hear the refutation of the Confession, we may turn our attention to the proceedings of the contending parties during that period.

* Scott's "Continuation of Milner," vol. i., p. 30; Dean Waddington, vol. iii., p. 57; D'Aubigné, vol. iv.; "Faiths of the World," vol. i., p. 258. For a Summary of the Whole Confession, see Mosheim, vol. iii., p. 139.

It was indeed a time of trial and suspense to the Protestants. They were perplexed and harassed on every side and in every way. Rome's system of promises and threatenings was immediately put in practice. Favours were offered and threatening was applied to different individuals in a way most likely to gain their deceitful ends. Even the great Emperor condescended to a policy of meanness and cruelty towards the Elector of Saxony and the Margrave of Bradenburgh, with the view of separating them from the interests of reform. And the Landgrave of Hesse he endeavoured to seduce by the tempting offer of a crown. "What would you say if I elevated you to the regal dignity?" said Charles to Philip; "but," he added, "if you show yourself rebellious to my orders, then I shall behave as becomes a Roman Emperor."

On the **Emperor's conduct** at this moment, his biographer, Dr Robertson, makes the following just observations: "From the divines, among whom his endeavours had been so unsuccessful, Charles turned to the princes. Nor did he find them, how desirous soever of accommodation, or willing to oblige the Emperor, more disposed to renounce their opinions. At that time zeal for religion took possession of the minds of men to a degree which can scarcely be conceived by those who live in an age when the passions excited by the first manifestation of the truth, and the first recovery of liberty, have in a great measure ceased to operate. This zeal was then of such strength as to overcome attachment to their political interests, which is commonly the predominant motive among princes. The Elector of Saxony, the Landgrave of Hesse, and other chiefs of the Protestants—though solicited separately by the Emperor, and allured by the promise or prospect of those advantages which it was known they were more solicitous to attain—refused, with a fortitude highly worthy of imitation, to abandon what they deemed the cause of God for the sake of any earthly acquisition."*

THE SORROWS AND FEARS OF MELANCHTHON.

The Emperor having failed to draw away the leading princes from the Evangelical Confession, the legate and his deputies used every exertion to gain over some of the leading divines, especially Philip Melanchthon. He had manifested great uneasiness at the secret conferences between the Emperor and the princes, and proposed to reduce the demands of the Confession, with the view of accomplishing a reconciliation. Flattered by the attentions of the legate, alarmed by the threats of war and the general appearance of affairs, he lost his balance for a moment and was driven to the very borders of recantation. Even D'Aubigné observes that "he thought it his duty to purchase

* Robertson's "Charles the Fifth," vol. ii., p. 383.

peace at any cost, and resolved in consequence to descend in his propositions as low as possible." But we must bear in mind that the position of Melanchthon was one of extreme difficulty. The responsibility of drawing up the Confession rested almost entirely with himself. It was no easy task to show sufficient causes for the secession of the Reformers, and yet to avoid all unnecessary grounds of offence to the Papists. He was thus exposed to the insults of his enemies, and to the reproaches of his friends. He had to deal with the princes on the one side, the theologians on the other, and the crafty emissaries of Rome.

The mild and tender spirit of Melanchthon was in every way unfitted to contend against all these anxieties. He had neither the inflexible nature, nor the religious enthusiasm of his master, Luther. Historians vie with each other in their praise of his great talents, his extensive learning, and his characteristic modesty. "Melanchthon," says Dr. Robertson, "seldom suffered the rancour of controversy to envenom his style, even in writings purely polemical." But that which chiefly troubled his soul during those wearisome six weeks was an intense desire to make further concessions to conciliate the Roman Catholics, without the compromise of truth or the violation of conscience. The following letter to the legate shows Melanchthon in his lowest state of despondency. Here he ventures to affirm that the Protestants were prepared to refuse no conditions on which peace and concord might be secured to them.

THE LETTERS OF MELANCHTHON AND LUTHER.

"There is no doctrine," writes **Malanchthon to Campeggio,** "in which we differ from the Roman Catholic Church; we venerate the universal authority of the Roman Pontiff, and we are ready to obey him, provided he does not reject us, and that of his clemency, which he is accustomed to show towards all nations, he will kindly pardon or approve certain little things that it is no longer possible for us to change... Now then, will you reject those who appear as suppliants before you? Will you pursue them with fire and sword?... Alas! nothing draws upon us in Germany so much hatred, as the unshaken firmness with which we maintain the doctrines of the Roman Church. But with the aid of God we will remain faithful, even unto death, to Christ and to the Roman Church, although you should reject us." Thus did Melanchthon, the head of the evangelical theologians, lower himself in the presence of Rome and of all mankind. But there was one who was watching the interests of the Reformation, and overruling His servant's failure for the accomplishment of His own purposes and the glory of His Holy Name.

Melanchthon had come down so low, as to entreat the Elector to demand only the two kinds in the Eucharist and the marriage

of priests. Had these two things been granted, the Reformation, humanly speaking, would have been arrested, and a reconciliation with Rome accomplished. But the legate would grant nothing. The Papists now accused the Reformers of having dissembled their heresy in the Apology. Melanchthon, filled with shame at the advances he had made to the legate, by whom he was deceived, found a place, we doubt not, of repentance and restoration.

Luther was still at Coburg, but he was constantly hearing of all that was going on, and constantly writing to his friends, especially to the Elector and Melanchthon. His letters about this time breathe a different spirit from those of Melanchthon. But as Waddington justly observes: "The wild and lofty solitudes of Coburg were far more favourable to those exclusive spiritual impressions than the crowded halls and courts of Augsburg; and that perpetual contact with the weaknesses and disquietudes of friends, that unwearied wariness necessary against an ever-plotting enemy, would have shaken a firmer resolution than Melanchthon's; and had Luther himself been as long exposed to those trials, they would have disturbed his equanimity, though they might not have broken his courage."*

The following extracts from the **letters of Luther** during this crisis will give the reader some idea of his Christian principles and the soundness of his judgment.

"It is your philosophy, my Philip, which vexes you so, not your theology... Self is your greatest foe, and it is you who supply Satan with arms against you... I, for my part, am not very much disturbed respecting our common cause. God has power to raise up the dead. He has power then to support His cause while falling, to restore it when fallen, to advance it while standing upright. If we are not worthy to be His instruments, let the work be done by others; but if we are not to find comfort and courage in His promises, who are there now on earth to whom they more properly pertain?"

Two days afterwards he wrote: "What displeases me in your letter is this, that you describe yourselves as having followed my authority in this affair. I do not choose to be, or to be said to be, your mover in this cause. If it be not also and equally your cause, I do not at least choose that it should be called mine and be imposed upon you. If the cause is mine alone, I alone will act in it... Assuredly I am faithful to you, and present with you in my groans and prayers, and I would I were also present in body... But it is in vain I write thus; because you, following the rules of your philosophy, persist in directing these things by reason, that is, in being rationally mad; and so you wear yourself to death, without perceiving that this cause is placed altogether beyond your reach and counsel."

* Dean Waddington, vol. iii., p. 72.

Again on the 13th of July he writes to his son in the faith : "I think that you must by this time have had enough and more than enough of experience not to see that Belial can by no devices be reconciled to Christ, and that there is not any hope of concord from a council, so far as doctrine is concerned... Assuredly, I, for my part, will neither yield, nor suffer to be restored, so much as a hair's breadth. I will rather endure every extremity. Concede so much the less, as your adversaries require so much the more. God will not aid us until we are abandoned by all. If it were not tempting God, you would long ago have seen me at your side."

On the 21st he thus wrote to Justus Jonas : "I am delighted that Philip is beginning to find out by experience the character of Campeggio and the Italians. That philosophy of his believes nothing except from experience. I, for my part, would not trust the least, either to the Emperor's confessor, or to any other Italian. For my friend Jajetan was so fond of me, that he was ready to shed blood for me—to wit, my own blood. An Italian, when he is good, is of all men the best ; but such is a prodigy as rare as a black swan... I could wish to be the victim of this council, as Huss was the victim of that of Constance, which was the latest Papal triumph."

From these extracts the reader will plainly see that Luther was not a party to the humiliating letter of Melanchthon. It is also plain from all history that Luther's letters were used of God for strengthening and confirming his friends at Augsburg during that very critical interval. Though all the resources of Papal diplomacy had been brought into action, the Papists could not boast of a single apostate. The Elector had been especially tampered with by the Emperor, believing that, if he fell, the Confession would fall with him. But the Lord enabled His servants to triumph. "I must either renounce God or the world," said John. "Well ! my choice is not doubtful. I fling myself into His arms, and let Him do with me what shall seem good to Him... I desire to confess my Saviour." Noble resolution! Invincible warrior of light against the powers of darkness ! No weapon of carnal temper could prevail against those which are spiritual and wielded by faith. Here the Elector and his friends were victorious. Would to God they had ever maintained this moral elevation ! But alas ! for the day when they stepped down to the world's arena of strife and conflict ; then all was defeat and degradation. We shall see the mighty contrast between the two classes of weapons by and by.

END OF VOL. II.

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